
FIDEI DEFENSOR
Scotiæ
Ecclesiæ
Giuli: Marshall sculp.

CAROLINÆ.

OR THE

WORKS

OF THAT

GREAT MONARCH

AND

GLORIOVS MARTYR

King CHARLS the I.

Collected together, and digested in order, according to their severall Subjects, CIVIL and SACRED.

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King 23.25. *And like unto him there was no King before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, &c.*

Heb. 11.4. *Being dead, he yet speaketh.*

HAGUE,

Printed by Samuell Browne. 1651.

SERENISS. PRINCIPI AC DOMINO *CAROLO* II. FILIO NAT. MAJ. *CAR.* I. MARTYRIO CORONATI,

VIRTVTVM PATERN. ANTITYP. VERO REGN. HÆRED. AC SVCCES. INDVBIO. AVITÆ RELIG. LEGVM AC LIBERTAT. [QVAS IMPIA NOVATORVM RABIES CONCVLCAVIT] INSTAVRATORI DESIDERATIS.

SACRAS HASCE SANCTISS. MARTYRIS RELIQUIAS,

DIVINOS MENTIS HEROICÆ PARTUS.

ÆTERNA VIRTVT. REGIARVM MONVMENTA,

HN MILIME CONSECRAT MAJEST. VESTRÆ SVBDITVS.

PART. NVPER SERVUS DEVOTISS.

The

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1651

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Severall Verses made by diverse persons upon His Majesties death.

1 An Epitaph upon K. CHARLS by *I. H.* p. 314

2 Another, p. 315

3 Another by *A. B.* *ibid.*

4 Upon the Picture of his Majesty, sitting in his Chair before the High Court of Injustice. p. 316

5 Upon the Picture of his Majesty in His Blew Wastcoat, *ibid.*

6 An Elegy by the M. of *Montrosse*, *ibid.*

7 A Deep Groan at the Funerall of that Incomparable and Glorious Monarch CHARLS the First, by *D. H. K.* p. 317

Severall

Severall Speeches delivered by His Majesty to the two houses at *Westminster*, and other places, since the beginning of this PARLIAMENT.

His Majesties *Speech to both Houses at the first meeting.* Novemb. 3. 1640.

My Lords,

THE knowledge I had of the designes of my Scotish Subjects, was the cause of my calling the last assembly of Parliament, wherein had I been believed, I sincerely think, that things had not fallen out as now we see. But it is no wonder that men are so slow to believe that so great a sedition should be raised on so little ground. But now my Lords, and Gentlemen, the honour and safety of this Kingdom lying so neerly at the Stake; I am resolved, to put my self freely and cleerly on the love and affections of my *English* Subjects, as those of my Lords that did wait on me at *Yorke*, very well remember I there declared. Therefore my Lords, I shall not mention mine owne interest, or that support I might justly expect from you till the common safety be secured: though I must tell you, I am not ashamed to say, those charges I have been at, have been meerly for the securing and good of this Kingdom, though the successe hath not

been anſwerable to my deſires. Therefore I ſhall only deſire you to conſider the beſt way both for the ſafety and ſecurity of this Kingdom, wherein there are two parts chiefly conſiderable, Firſt, the chaſing out of the Rebells. And ſecondly, that other, in ſatisfying your juſt grievances, wherein I ſhall promiſe you to concur ſo heartily and cleerly with you, that all the World may ſee my intentions have ever been, and ſhall be, to make this a glorious and flouriſhing Kingdome. There are only two things more that I ſhall mention to you: The one is to tell you, that the Loan of money which I lately had from the City of *London*, wherein the Lords that waited on me at *Yorke* aſſiſted me, will only maintaine my Army for two moneths from the beginning of that time it was granted. Now my Lords, and Gentlemen, I leave it to your conſiderations, what diſhonour and miſchief it might be, in caſe for want of mony my Army be disbanded, before the Rebells be put out of this Kingdom. Secondly, the ſecuring the calamities the Northern people endure at this time, and ſo long as the Treaty is on foot. And in this I may ſay, not only they, but all this Kingdom will ſuffer the harm; therefore I leave this alſo to your conſideration. For the ordering of theſe great affairs, whereof you are to treat at this time, I am ſo confident of your love to me, and that your care is ſuch for the honour and ſafety of the Kingdom, that I ſhall freely and willingly leave to you where to begin: only this, that you may the better know the eſtate of all the affairs, I have commanded my Lord Keeper to give you a ſhort and free account of thoſe things that have happened in this interim, with this Proteſtation; and if his account be not ſatisfactory as it ought to be, I ſhall whenſoever you deſire give you a full and perfect account of every particular. One thing more I deſire of you, as one of

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he greateſt means to make this a happy Parliament; hat you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aſide all ſuſpicion one of another; as I promiſed my Lords at *Yorke*, it ſhall not be my fault if this be not a happy and good Parliament.

His Majeſties ſecond Speech in the Houſe of Lords, November 5. 1640.

My Lords,

I do expect that you will haſtily make Relation to the Houſe of Commons, of thoſe great affairs for which I have called you hither at this time, and of the ruſt I have repoſed in them, and how freely I put my ſelf on their love and affections at this time: and hat you may know the better how to doe ſo, I ſhall xplane my ſelfe concerning one thing I ſpake the laſt ay. I told you the Rebels muſt be put out of this King- dom; tis true, I muſt needs call them ſo, ſo long as hey have an Army that do invade us, although I am nder Treaty with them, and under my great Seal do all them Subjects, and ſo they are too. But the ſtate f my affairs in ſhort is this; its true, I did expect when did will my Lords and great ones to be at *Yorke*, to ave given a gracious anſwer to all your grievances; or I was in good hope by their wiſdomes and aſſiſtan- es to have made an end of that buſineſſe: but I muſt ell you, that my Subjects of *Scotland* did ſo delay them, hat it was not poſſible to end there: therefore I can o wayes blame my Lords that were at *Rippon*, that he Treaty was not ended; but muſt thanke them for heir pains and induſtry: and certainely had they as uch power as affections, I ſhould by that time have rought theſe diſtempers to a happy period; ſo that now he Treaty is tranſported from *Rippon* to *London*, where

I shall conclude nothing without your knowledge, and I doubt not but by your approbation: for I do not desire to have this great work done in a corner; for I shall lay open all the steps of this mis-understanding, and the causes of the great differences between me and my Subjects of *Scotland*. And I doubt not but by your assistance to make them know their duty, and also by your assistance to make them returne whether they will or no.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the Banqueting-house in White-Hall. Ianuary 25. 1640.

My Lords,

THe Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses; the principall cause of my comming here at this time, is by reason of the slow proceedings in Parliament, touching which is a great deal of inconvenience.

Therefore I think it very necessary to lay before you the state of my affairs as now they stand, thereby to hasten (not to interrupt) your proceedings.

First, I must remember you that there are two Armies in the Kingdom, in a manner maintained by you, the very naming of which, doth more cleerly shew the inconvenience thereof, than a better tongue than mine can expresse.

Therefore in the first place, I shall recommend unto you the quick dispatch of that businesse, assuring you that it cannot rest upon me.

In the next place I must recommend unto you the state of my Navy and Forts; the condition of both which is so well known unto you, that I need not tell you the particulars, only thus much, they are the walls and defence of this Kingdom, which if out of order, all men may easily judge what encouragement

will be to our Enemies, and what disheartning to our Friends.

Last of all, (and not the Least to be considered) I must lay before you the distractions that are at this present occasioned through the connivence of Parliament: for there are some men that more maliciously than ignorantly, will put no difference between Reformation, and alteration of Government.

Hence it commeth that Divine Service is irreverently interrupted, and Petitions in an ill way given in, neither disputed nor denied. But I will enter into no more particulars, but shew you a way of remedy, by shewing you my clear intentions, and some Rocks that may hinder this good work.

I shall willingly and cheerfully concur with you for the reformation of all innovations both in Church and Common-wealth; and consequently, that all Courts of justice may he reformed according to Law. For my intention is clearly to reduce all things to the best and purest times as they were in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*.

Moreover, whatsoever part of my Revenue shall be found illegall or heavy to my Subjects I shal be willing to lay down, trusting in their affections. Having thus clearly and shortly set down my intentions, I will shew you some rubs, and must needs take notice of some very strange (I know not what term to give them) Petitions given in the names of divers Counties, against the established government of the Church, and of the great threatnings against the Bishops, that they will make them to be but Cyphers, or at least, their voices to be taken away.

If some of them have incroached too much upon the Temporalty (if it be so) I shall not be unwilling these things should be redressed and reformed, as all other abuses according to the wisdome of former times; so far I shall go with you, no farther.

If upon serious debate you shall shew that Bishops have some Temporal Authority, not so necessary for the government of the Church, and upholding Episcopall jurisdiction, I shall not be unwilling to desire them to lay it down; but this must not be understood, that I shall any way consent that their Voices in Parliament should be taken away: for in all the times of my Predecessors since the Conquest, and before, they have enjoyed it, I am bound to maintaine them in it, as one of the fundamentall constitutions of this Kingdom.

There is another Rock you are on, not in substance, but in form; and the form is so essentiall, that unlesse it be reformed, it will split you on that Rock.

There is a Bill lately put in concerning Parliaments. The thing I like well to have frequent Parliaments, but for the Sheriffs and Constables to use my Authority, I can no wayes consent unto.

But to shew that I desire to give you content in substance as well as in shew, you shall have a Bill for doing thereof, so that it do not trench neither against my honour, neither against the antient Prerogatives of the Crown concerning Parliaments. For I ingenuously confesse, often Parliaments is the fittest means to keep correspondency between me and my people, that I do so much desire.

To conclude, now all that I have shewen you, the state of my affairs, my own clear intentions, and the Rocks I would have you shun.

To give you all contentment, you shall likewise find it by these Ministers I have or shall have about me, for the effecting of these my good intentions, which shall redouble the peace of the Kingdom, and content you all. Concerning the conference, you shall have a direct answer on Monday, which shall give you satisfaction.

His Majeſties Speech to both Houſes, in Anſwer to a Remonſtrance, about Papiſts, &c. February 3. 1640.

HAving taken into ſerious conſideration the late Remonſtrance made unto me by the houſe of Parliament, I give you this Anſwer.

That I take in good part your care of the true Religion eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, from which I will never depart; as alſo you tenderneſſe of my ſafety, and the ſecurity of this State and Government. It is againſt my mind, that Popery or Superſticion ſhould any way increaſe within this Kingdom I will reſtraine the ſame by cauſing the Lawes to be put in execution.

I am reſolved to provide againſt the Ieſuits and Papiſts, by ſetting forth a Proclamation with all ſpeed, commanding them to depart the Kingdom within one moneth; of which if they faile, or ſhall return, then they ſhall be proceeded againſt according to the Laws.

Concerning *Reſettie*, I give you to underſtand, that the Queen hath alwayes aſſured me, that to her knowledg he hath no Commiſſion, but only to retaine a perſonall correſpondence between her and the Pope, in things requiſite for the exerciſe of her Religion, which is warranted to her by the Articles of Marriage, which gave her a full liberty of Conſcience: Yet I have perſwaded her, that ſince the miſunderſtanding of that perſons condition gives offence, ſhe will within a convenient time remove him.

Moreover, I will take a ſpecial care to reſtrain my Subjects from reſorting to Maſs at *Denmark* houſe, St. *Iames*'s, and the Chapels of Ambaſſadors.

Laſtly, concerning *Iohn Goodman* the Prieſt, I will let you know the reaſon why I reprieved him, that as I am informed, neither Queen *Elizabeth*, nor my Father

did ever avow, that any Priest in their times was exec-
ted meerly for Religion, which to me seems to be th
particular case: yet seeing that I am pressed by bot
Houses, to give way to this, because I will avoid th
inconveniency of giving so great discontent to my peo
ple, as I conceive this mercy may produce, therefore
do remit this particular case to both the Houses: But
desire them to take into their considerations, the incon-
veniencies (as I conceive) that may upon this occasio
fall upon my Subjects, and other Protestants abroad
especially since it may seem to other States to be a seve-
rity; which having thus represented, I think my self dis-
charged from all ill consequences that may ensue upo
the execution of this person.

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*His Majesties Speech at the Passing of the Bill for Tri-
enniall Parliaments.* Feb. 16. 1640.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Bur-
gesses of the House of Commons, you may re-
member when both Houses were with me at the Ban-
queting house at *White hall*, I did declare unto you
two Rocks I wished you to eschew, this is the one o
of them, and of that consequence, that I think never
Bill passed here in this house of more favour to the
Subjects than this is; and if the other Rock be as hap-
pily passed over as this shall be at this time, I do not
know what you can aske, for ought I can see, at this
time, that I can make any question to yeeld unto: There-
fore I mention this to shew unto you the sense that I
have of this Bill, and the Obligation, as I may say,
that you have to me for it; for hitherto, to speak free-
ly, I had no great encouragement to do it; if I should
look to the outward face of your actions or procee-
dings, and not look to the inward intentions of your
hearts

hearts, I might make queſtion of doing it.

Hitherto you have gone on in that which concerns your ſelves to amend, and not in thoſe things that neerly concerne the ſtrength of this Kingdom, neither for the State, nor my own particular.

This I mention, not to reproach you, but to ſhew you the ſtate of things as they are, you have taken the government all in pieces, and I may ſay, it is allmoſt off the hinges.

A skilfull Watchmaker to make clean his Watch will take it a ſunder, and when it is put together, it will go the better, ſo that he leave forth then not one pin in it.

Now as I have done all this on my part, you know what to do on your parts, and I hope you ſhall ſee cleerly that I have performed really what I expreſſed to you at the beginning of this Parliament, of the great truſt I have of your affections to me, and this is the great expreſſion of truſt, that before you do any thing for me, that I do put ſuch a confidence in you.

His Majeſties Speech to the Lords and Commons in the Banquetting-houſe at Whi e-hall, about diſbanding the Armies in Ireland and England, &c. Aprill 28. 1641.

MY Lords and Gentlemen, for anſwer to your deſires, I ſay,

Firſt, concerning the removall of Papiſts from Court, I am ſure you all know what legall truſt the Crowne hath in this particular: and therefore I need not ſay any thing to give you aſſurance that I ſhall uſe it ſo, that there ſhall be no jnſt cauſe of ſcandall.

Secondly, For diſarming of Papiſts, I am very well content it ſhall be done according to Law.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, For the Irish Army, you must understand I am already upon consultation how to disband it, but I find many difficulties in it: therefore I hold it not only fit to wish it, but to shew the way how it may be conveniently done.

This is not all I desire: but since you have mentioned the disbanding of Armies, it is my duty to my Country to wish for disbanding of all Armies; and to restore the same peace to all my three Kingdoms that the King my Father did leave them in: And I conjure you, as you will answer the same to God, and to your Country, to joyne with me heartily and speedily for the disbanding of the two Armies in *England*. This is a very good time to speak of it, and there are but two wayes to do it.

One is, to answer their Petitions, and the second is, to provide monyes. You are Masters of the one, and with Me you are judges of the other. And you shall not be readier, nor so ready, to bring this to a happy conclusion, as I My self shall be.

His Majesties Speech in the Lords House, before he passed the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, May 1. 1641.

My Lords,

I Had no intention to speak of this business this day, which is the great business concerning my Lord of *Strafford*, because I would do nothing that might serve to hinder your occasions. But now it comes so to passe, that seeing of necessity I must have part in that Judgment, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein.

I am sure you all know, I have been present at the hearing of this business from the one end to the other.

And

And I must tell you, that in my conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this businesse, I am sure you will not expect that, a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince.

Yet I must tell you three truthes, which I am sure no body can tell so well as My self.

1. That I never had any intention of bringing over the Irish Army, nor ever was advised by any body so to do.

2. There never was any debate before me, either in publique Councell, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspicion of them.

3. That I never was counselled by any, to alter the least of any of the Lawes of *England*, much lesse to alter all the Lawes. Nay, I tell you this, I thinke no body durst ever be so impudent, as to move me to it: For if they had I should have made them such an example, and put such a marke upon them, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.

I desire rightly to be understood: for though I tell you in my conscience, I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanours. Therefore I hope that you may find out a way to satisfie justice, and your own fears, and not to presse my Conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender thing Conscience is: and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie the people, I would do great matters, but in this of Conscience, neither fear, nor any other respect whatsoever, shall ever make me go against it.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the passing of the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage. June 22. 1641

I Do very willingly accept your offer made at this time as a testimony of your love, and beginning of your dutifull affections to me: and I no way doubt, but that you will perform that which you have intimated unto me, and that in due time you will perform the rest, when you have leisure.

I do not doubt likewise, but that in passing this Bill you will see a testimony of the trust and confidence I have in your affections; as also that I omit no occasion whereby I may shew that affection to my people, that I desire my people would shew to me, as in this Parliament hitherto, no body can say but that I have sought occasions both to shew my affections unto them, and to remove disputes.

And therefore in this particular Bill, I hope you will know that I do freely and frankly give over the right which my Predecessours have ever challenged unto them (though I confesse disputed, but yet they did never yeeld in their times;) therefore you will understand this but a marke of my confidence to put my selfe wholly upon the Love and affection of my people for my subsistence: And therefore I hope that in prosecution of this, you will go on as you have said; and that though you have rumours of jealousies and suspitions, by flying and idle discourses, that have come to my ears, concerning the extraordinary way, I confess I never understood it otherwise than as having relation to the Scotish Army, and preventing insurrection, which vanished as soon as they were borne.

And therefore now you see my clearnesse, I leave that to you, and will not meddle with it one way or other,

other, for I never had other designe, but to win the affections of my people by my justice in my Government.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses at the passing of the Bills for the taking away the High-Commission and Star Chamber, and regulating the Councell Table. July 5. 1641.

I Come to do the Office which I forbore to do on Saturday last, to give determination to these two Bills: But before I do it, I must tell you, that I cannot but be very sensible of those reports of discontent that I hear some have taken for not giving my consent on Saturday. Me thinks it seems strange, that any one should thinke, I could passe two Bills of that importance as these were, without taking some fit time to consider of them; for it is no lesse than to alter, in a great measure, those Fundamentall Lawes, Eccleſiasticall and Civill, which many of my Predeceſſors have eſtabliſhed.

If you consider what I have done this Parliament, discontent will not sit in your hearts, for I hope you remember, that I have granted, That the Iudges hereafter shall hold their places, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, I have bounded the Forrests, not according to my right, but according to late Customes.

I have eſtabliſhed the property of the Subjects, witneſſe the free giving, not taking away the Shipmony.

I have eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, the property of the Subject in Tonnage and Poundage, which never was done in any my Predeceſſours times: I have granted a Law for Triennial Parliaments, and given way to an Act for the securing of monies advanced for the

the disbanding of the Armies; I have given free course of justice against Delinquents; I have put the Law in execution against Papists.

Nay, I have given way to every thing that you have asked of me, and therefore me thinks you should not wonder, if in some things I begin to refuse. But I hope it shall not hinder your progresse in your great affairs, and I will not stick upon triviall matters, to give you content; I hope you are sensible of these beneficiall favours bestowed on you at this time.

To conclude. You know that by your consent, there is a prefixed time set for my going into *Scotland*, and there is an absolute necessity for it, I do not know but that things may so fall out, that it may be shortned; therefore I hope you will hasten the dispatching of those great businesses that are now necessarily to be done, and leave triviall and superficiall matters to an other meeting.

For my part I shall omit nothing that may give you just contentment, and study nothing more than your happiness, and thereof I hope you shall see a very good Testimomy by passing these two Bills.

Le Roy le veult.

This being done, his Majesty said, as followeth.

I have one word more to speak unto you, and I take now an occasion to present it unto both Houses, that thereby I hope all the World shall see, that there is a good understanding between me and my people.

It is concerning my Nephew the Prince Elector *Palatine*, who having desired me and the King of *Denmark* to give way to a writing concerning the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour, I could not but send my Ambassadour to assist him, though I am afraid I shall not have so good an answer as I expect, which my Nephew foreseeing hath desired me, for the better countenance of the same, to make a *Manifesto* in

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My name, which is a thing of great consequence; and if I should do it alone, without the advice of my Parliament, it would rather be a scorn, than otherwise: therefore I do propose it unto you, that if you will advise me to it, I think it were very fit to be published in my Name.

His Majesties Speech to the Scotch Parliament at Edinburgh, August 19. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THere hath nothing been so displeasing to me as those unlucky differences, which have happened between me and my people, and nothing that I have more desired, than to see this day wherein I hope not only to settle these unhappy mistakings, but rightly to know and to be known of my native Countrey. I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to most) what difficulties I have passed through, and overcome, to be heare at this present: yet this will I say, if love to my native Country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other respects might easily have found a shift to do that by a Commission which I am come to performe my self; and (this considered) I cannot doubt of such reall testimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that Royall power which I enjoy after 108 discents, and which you have professed to maintaine, and to which your own nationall Oath doth oblige you, that I shall not think any pains ill bestowed. Now the end of my comming is shortly this, to perfect whatsoever I have promised, and withall to quiet the distractions which have and may fall out amongst you; and this I mind not superficially but fully and cheerfully to performe: For I assure you that I can do nothing with more cheerfulnesse than to give my people a generall Satisfaction

faction: wherefore not offering to endeer my self unto you in words (which indeed is not my way) I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the Religion and just liberties of this my Native Country before I proceed to any other Act.

His Majesties Speech to both Houses, after his returne from Scotland. Decemb. 2. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Think it fit after so long absence, at this first occasion, to speak a few words unto you, but it is no wayes in answer to Mr. Speakers learned speech: Albeit I have staid longer than I expected to have done when I went away, yet in this I have kept my promise with you, that I have made all the haste back againe, that the setling of my Scotch affairs could any wayes permit, in which I have had so good successe, that I will confidently affirm to yon, that I have left that Nation a most peaceable and contented people; so that although I have a little misreckoned in time, yet I was not deceived in my end.

But if I have deceived your expectations a little in the time of my returne, yet I am assured that my expectation is as much and more deceived in the condition wherein I hoped to have found some businesse at my returne. For since that before my going I setled the Liberties of my subjects, and gave the Law a free and orderly course, I expected to have found my people reaping the fruits of these benefits, by living in quietnesse, and satisfaction of mind; but instead of this, I find them disturbed with jealousies, Frights, and Alarms of dangerous designs and plots; in consequence of which, Guards have been set to defend both Houses. I say not this as in doubt that my Subjects affections are any way lessned to me in this time of my

absence,

abſence, for I cannot but remember; to my great comfort, the joyfull reception I had now at my entry into *London*; but rather as I hope that my preſence will eaſily diſperſe theſe fears. For I bring as perfect and true affections to my people as ever Prince did, or as good ſubjects can poſſibly deſire. And I am ſo far from repenting me of any Act I have done this Seſſion for the good of my people, that I proteſt if it were to do againe I would do it, and will yet grant what elſe can be juſtly deſired for ſatisfaction in point of Liberties, or in maintenance of the true Religion that is here eſtabliſhed.

Now I have but one particular to recommend unto you at this time, it is *Ireland*, for which though I doubt not your care, yet me thinks the preparations for it go but ſlowly on. The occaſion is the fitter for me now to mention it, becauſe of the arrivall of two Lords from *Scotland*, who come inſtructed from my Councell there (who now by Act of Parliament have full power for that purpoſe) to anſwer that Demand which it pleaſed both Honſes to make of me by way of Petition, that met me at *Barwick*, and which the Duke of *Richmond* ſent back by my command to my Scoteh Councell: therefore my deſire is, that both houſes would appoint a ſelect Committee, to end this buſineſſe with theſe Noblemen. I muſt conclude in telling you, that I ſeek my peoples happineſſe, for their flouriſhing is my greateſt glory, and their affections my greateſt ſtrength.

His Majeſties Speech to both Houſes about Ireland, *and the Bill for preſſing Souldiers.* Dec. 14. 1641.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THe laſt time that I was in this place, and the laſt thing that I recommended unto you, was the

busines of *Ireland*, whereby I was in good hope that I should not have needed againe to have put you in mind of that busines; but still seeing the slow proceedings therein, and the dayly dispatches that I have out of *Ireland* of the lamentable estate of my Protestant Subjects there, I cannot but againe earnestly recommend the dispach of that expedition unto you, for it is the chief businesse that at this time I take to heart, and there cannot (almost) be any businesse that I can have more care of. I might now take up some of your time in expressing my detestation of Rebellions in generall, and of this in particular: but knowing that Deeds and not Declarations must suppresse this great insolency, I do here in a word offer you whatsoever my power, pains, or industry can contribute to this good and necessary worke of reducing the Irish Nation to their true and wonted obedience.

And that nothing may be omitted on my part, I must here take notice of the Bill for pressing of Souldiers, now depending among you my Lords, concerning which I here declare, That in case it come so to me, as it may not infringe or diminish my Prerogative, I will passe it: And further, seeing there is a dispute raised (I being little beholding to him whosoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this antient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the Bill may passe with a *salvo jure*, both for King and People, leaving such debates to a time that may better bear it. If this be not accepted, the fault is not mine that this Bill passe not, but those that refuse so fair an offer.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is or can be dear to you or me, that laying away all disputes, you go on cheerfully and speedily for the reducing of *Ireland*

His Majesties Speech in the House of Commons, about the five Members. Ian. 4. 1651.

Gentlemen,

I Am sorry for this occasion of comming unto you: yesterday I sent a Sergeant at Arms upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of High Treason, whereunto I did expect Obedience, and not a Message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no King that ever was in *England* shall be more carefull of your Priviledges, to maintaine them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be; yet you must know, that in cases of Treason, no person hath a privilege, and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here; for I must tell you, Gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused (for no slight crime, but for Treason) are here, I cannot expect that this house can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it: therefore I am come to tell you, that I must have them whersoever I find them. Well, sithence I see all the Birds are flown, I do expect from you, that you shall send them unto me, as soon as they returne hither: But I assure you, in the word of a King, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and faire way, for I never meant any other.

And now sithence I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit ocasion to repeat what I have said formerly; that whatsoever I have done in favour, and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintaine it.

I will trouble you no more, but tell you, I do expect as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them.

His Majesties Speech at Guild-hall, about the five Members. Jan. 5. 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Am come to demand such Prisoners as I have already attainted of High Treason, and do believe they are shrouded in the City, I hope no good man will keep them from me, their offences are Treason, and misdemeanours of an high nature; I desire, your loving assistance herein, that they may be brought to a legall triall.

And whereas there are divers surpicions raised, that I am a favourer of the Popish Religion, I do professe in the name of a King, that I did and ever will, and that to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall any way oppose the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdom, either Papist or Separatist, and not only so, but I will maintaine and defend that true Protestant Religion which my Father did professe, and I will still continue in, during life.

His Majesties Speech at Theobalds, at the delivery of the Petition for the Militia. March 1. 1641.

I Am so amased at this Message, that J know not what to Answer: You speak of Jealousies and Fears: Lay your hands to your hearts, and aske your selves whether I may not likewise be disturbed with Fears and Jealousies: and if so, I assure you this Message hath nothing lessened them.

For the *Militia*, I thought so much of it before I sent that Answer, and am so much assured that the Answer

Anſwer is agreeable to what in juſtice or reaſon you can ask, or I in Honour grant, that I ſhall not alter it in any point.

For My Reſidence near you, I wiſh it might be ſo ſafe and honourable, that I had no cauſe to abſent my Self from *White-Hall*; Ask your ſelves whether I have not?

For my Son, I ſhall take that care of him, which ſhall juſtifie Me to God as a Father, and to my Dominions as a King.

To conclude, I aſſure you upon my Honour, that I have no thought but of peace and juſtice to my people, which I ſhall by all faire meanes ſeeke to preſerve and maintain, relying upon the goodneſs and providence of God, for the preſervation of My Self and Rights.

His Majeſties Speech at Newmarket, *to the Earle of* Holland, Pembroke, *and the reſt of the Committee that preſented the Declaration,* March 9. 1641.

I Am confident that you expect not I ſhould give you a ſpeedy Anſwer to this ſtrange and unexpected Declaration: And I am ſorry (in the diſtractions of this Kingdom) you ſhould think this way of Addreſs to be more convenient, than that propoſed by my Meſſage of the 20 of Ianuary laſt to both Houſes.

As concerning the grounds of your Fears and Iealouſies, I will take time to anſwer particularly; and doubt not but I ſhall doe it to the ſatisfaction of all the World. God, in his good time, will, I hope, diſcover the ſecrets and bottoms of all Plots and Treaſons, and then I ſhall ſtand right in the eyes of all my people. In the mean time, I muſt tell you,

That I rather expected a Vindication for the Imputation laid on me in Maſter *Pyms* Speech, than that any more generall Rumours and Diſcourſes ſhould get credit with you.

For my Fears and Doubts, I did not thinke they ſhould have been thought ſo groundleſſe or triviall, while ſo many Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons are looked upon, and ſo great Tumults are remembred, unpuniſhed, uninquired into: I ſtill confeſſe my Fears, and call God to witneſſe, That they are greater for the true Proteſtant profeſſion, my People, and Laws, than for my own Rights or Safety; though I muſt tell you, I conceive that none of theſe are free from danger.

What would you have? Have I violated your Laws, Have I denied to paſſe any one Bill for the eaſe and ſecurity of my Subjects? I doe not ask you what you have done for Me?

Have any of my people been tranſported with Fears and Apprehenſions? I have offered as free and generall a Pardon, as your ſelves can deviſe. All this conſiderd, There is a judgement from Heaven upon this Nation, if theſe Diſtractions continue.

God ſo deal with Me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Profeſion, and for the Obſervation and Preſervation of the Laws of this Land: And, I hope, God will bleſſe and aſsiſt thoſe Laws for my preſervation.

As for the Additional Declaration, you are to expect an Anſwer to it when you ſhall receive the Anſwer to the Declaration it ſelf.

Some Passages that hapned the 9th of March, between the Kings Majesty, and the Committee of both Houses, when the Declaration was Delivered.

WHen His Majesty heard that part of the Declaration which mentioned Master *Jermins* Transportation, his Majesty interrupted the Earl of *Holland* in reading, and said, That's false. Which being afterwards toucht upon again, His Majesty then said, 'Tis a lye. And when he was informed, it related not to the Date, but the Execution of the Warrant, His Majesty said, it might have been better expressed then, and that it was a high thing to taxe a King with breach of promise. As for this Declaration, His Majesty said, I could not have beleeved the Parliament would have sent Me such an one, if I had not seen it brought by such persons of honour. I am sorry for the Parliament, but glad I have it. For by that I doubt not to satisfie My people; though I am confident, the greater part is so already.

Ye speak of ill Counsels, but I am confident the Parliament hath had worse informations, than I have had Counsels. His Majesty asking what he had denied the Parliament, the E. of *Holland* instanced that of the *Militia*, his Majesty replyed, that was no Bill: the Earl of *Holland* then said, it was a necessary request at this time; and his Majesty also then said, he had not denied it.

What passed the next day when His Majesty delivered His Answer.

WHich was read by the Earl of *Holland* to the rest of the Committee. And that being done,

That I rather expected a Vindication for the Imputation laid on me in Master *Pyms* Speech, than that any more generall Rumours and Discourses should get credit with you.

For my Fears and Doubts, I did not thinke they should have been thought so groundlesse or triviall while so many Seditious Pamphlets and Sermons are looked upon, and so great Tumults are remembred unpunished, uninquired into: I still confesse my Fears, and call God to witnesse, That they are greater for the true Protestant profession, my People, and Laws, than for my own Rights or Safety; though I must tell you, I conceive that none of these are free from danger.

What would you have? Have I violated your Laws, Have I denied to passe any one Bill for the ease and security of my Subjects? I doe not ask you what you have done for Me?

Have any of my people been transported with Fear and Apprehensions? I have offered as free and generall a Pardon, as your selves can devise. All this considerd, There is a judgement from Heaven upon the Nation, if these Distractions continue.

God so deal with Me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant Profession, and for the Observation and Preservation of the Laws of this Land: And, I hope, God will blesse and assist those Laws for their preservation.

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What passed the next day when His Majesty delivered His Answer.

WHich was read by the Earl of *Holland* to the rest of the Committee. And that being done,

His Lordship endeavored to perswade His Majesty t
come near the Parliament. Whereunto His Majes
answered, I would you had given me cause, but I a
sure this Declaration is not the way to it. And in a
Aristotles Rhetoricke there is no such argument of Pe
swasion. The Earl of *Pembroke* thereupon telling hi
that the Parliament had humbly besought His Majes
to come near them, as aforesaid, His Majesty replyed
He had learnt by our Declaration that words were no
sufficient. His Majesty being then againe moved by th
Earl of *Pembroke* to expresse what he would have
said, He would whip a Boy in *Westminster* School
that could not tell that by his Answer. And furthe
said, they were much mistaken, if they thought his An
swer of that, a deniall. And being also asked by th
said Earle of *Pembroke*, Whether the *Militi*
might not be granted, as was desired by the Parli
ment, for a time: His Majesty answered, not for a
houre; you have askt that of me in this, was neve
askt of a king, and with which I will not trust My Wif
and Children.

His Majesty said the businesse of Ireland *will never b
done in the way that you are in, Foure hundred wi
never do that work. It must be put into the hands of on
If I were trusted with it, I will pawn my head to e
that worke. And though I am a Beggar my self, y
(speaking with a Strong asseveration) I can find m
ney for that.*

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*His Majesties speech to the Sheriffe, Ministers, Gentry
&c. of Yorkshire, when they presented their
Petition.* April 5. 1642.

Mr. Sheriffe, and Gentlemen,

I Believe you expect not a present and particul
Answer to your Petition, because it is new to me

On

Only in generall I muſt tell you, That I ſee by it, that I am not deceived in the Confidence I have in the affections of this County to my Perſon and State; and I aſſure you that I will not deceive your confidence, which at this time you have declared in your Petition to have in me: and I am glad to ſee that it is not upon miſtaken grounds, as other Petitions have been to me ſince I came to this place: concerning which, let me obſerve unto you, that my Anſwers were to clear thoſe miſtakings; for I never did go about to puniſh or diſcourage them from Petitioning to Me in an humble way, though the ſubject did not agree with my ſenſe; Albeit within the memory of man, people have been diſcouraged and threatned to be puniſhed for Petitions.

I obſerve that your Petition is ſo modeſt, that it doth not mention any particular for your own good; which indeed I expected, as knowing that in ſome particulars you have great reaſon to do: and therefore that you may not fare the worſe for you modeſty, I will put you in mind of three particulars, which I conceive to be for the good of this Country.

The firſt is concerning your Trained Bands, to reduce them to a leſſer number, for which, I confeſſe to ſtand ingaged by promiſe to you, which I had performed long ſince, if I had been put in mind of it: And now I tell you, ſhew Me but the way, and (when you ſhall think fit) I ſhall inſtantly reduce them to that number, which I promiſed you two yeares ago.

The ſecond is, That which is owing to this County for Billet-money; the truth is, that for the preſent I cannot repay it: Onely I will ſay this, That if all the water had gone to the right Miill, (upon my word) you had been long agoe ſatisfied in this particular. And ſo I leave to your diſcretions which way you

will advise, and assist me to comply with the engag-
ments to you in this point.

The third is, That for which I was petitioned as
came up the last year, both by the Lord Mayor an
Aldermen of this City, and likewise by divers othe
of this County, as I went Southward; and that
concerning the Court of *Yorke*: And first let me te
you, that I know no legall dissolution of it, for h
therto formally, there is nothing come to me, eith
directly or indirectly, for the taking of it away
therefore I may say, it is rather shaken in pieces tha
dissolved. Now my desire is in complyance to what
answered the last year, unto the several Petitions delive-
red to me upon this Subject, that you would consul
and agree among your selves in what manner yo
would have the Court established most to your ow
contentments, and the good of all these Northern parts
in such a legall way, as that it may not be justly excep-
ted against, and I assure you in the word of an hones
Man, that you shall not blame me, if you have not ful
sasisfaction in it.

Within a day or two ye shall have a particular An-
swer to your Petition, which shall be such an one as I
am confident will give you good satisfaction, and put
you into such a way, as, I hope, may produce good
effects to the good of all this Kingdom.

His Majesties Speech to the Gentry of Yorkeshire attending his Majesty at Yorke. May the twelfth, 1641.

Gentlemen,

I Have cause of adding, not altering, what I meant
to say, when I gave out the Summons for this days
appearance, I little thought of these Messengers, or
of

of such a message as they brought, the which because it confirms me in what I intend to speak, and that I desire you should be truely informed of all passages between me and the Parliament, you shall hear read, first, my Answer to the Declaration of both Houses concerning *Hull*, the Answer of the Parliament to my two Messages concerning *Hull*, together with my Reply to the same, and my Message to both Houses, declaring the Reasons why I refused to passe the Bill concerning the *Militia*.

All which being read, His Majesty proceeded.

I will make no Paraphrases upon what ye have heard, it more befitting a Lawyer than a King, only this Observation, since Treason is countenanced so near me, it is time to look to my safety: I avow, it was part of my wonder, that men (whom I thought heretofore discreet, and moderate) should have undertaken this imployment, and that since they came (I having delivered them the Answer you have heard, and commanded them to return personally with it to the Parliament) should have flatly disobeyed me upon pretence of the Parliaments command. My end in telling you this, is to warne you of them; for since these men have brought me such a Message, and disobeyed so lawfull a Command; I will not say what their intent of staying here is, only I bid you take heed, not knowing what doctrine of Disobedience they may preach to you, under colour of obeying the Parliament. Hitherto I have found and kept you quiet, the enjoying of which was a chief cause of my coming hither (tumults and disorders having made me leave the South) and not to make this a seat of War, as Malice would (but I hope in vain) make you believe: Now if disturbances come I know whom I have reason to suspect.

To be short, you see that my Magazine is going to be

be taken from me (being my own proper goods) directly against my will; the *Militia* (against Law and my consent) is going to be put in execution; And lastly Sir *John Hothams* Treason is countenanced: All this considered, none can blame me to apprehend danger. Therefore I have thought fit (upon these real grounds) to tell you, that I am resolved to have a Guard (the Parliament having had one all this while upon imaginary jealousies,) only to secure my person. In which I desire your concurrence and assistance, and that I may be able to protect you, the Lawes, and the true Protestant profession from any affront or injury that may be offered, which I mean to maintaine my self without charge to the Countrey, intending not longer to keep them on foot, than I shall be secured of my just apprehensions by having satisfaction in the particulars before mentioned.

His Majesties Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, of the County of Nottingham, *at* Newarke. July 4. 1642.

Gentlemen.

YOur honest Resolutions and Affections to Me and your Countrey, for the defence of my Person and the Lawes of the Land, have been, and are so notable, that they have drawn me hither only to thank you: I go to other places to confirm and undeceive my Subjects, but am come hither only to thank and encourage you. You have made the best Iudgement of happinesse, by relying on that foundation, which the experience of so many hundred years hath given such proof of, The assurance and security of the Law: and assure your selves when Laws shall be altered by any other Authority, than that

by

by which they were made, your foundations are destroyed: and though it seems at first but to take away my power, it will quickly swallow all your interest: I aske nothing of you (though your demeanour gives me good evidence that you are not willing to deny) but to preserve your own affections to the Religion and Lawes established; I will justifie and protect those affections, and will live and die with you in that quarrell.

His Majesties Speech to the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of Lincoln, at Lincoln.
July 15. 1642.

Gentlemen,

IF I could have suspected your affections, or have censured the duty of this County by some late Actions in it, I should not have taken this pains, to have given you a testimony of my affection to you, and to remove those Objections which being raised by a Malignant party, may, by their cunning and industry, get credit even with honest minds. The truth is, I come to you, to assure you of my purposes and resolutions, for the defence of what ever is and should be dear unto you, your Religion, your Liberty, your Common interest, and the Lawes of the Land: and to undeceive you of that opinion, which I hear hath misled many of you, that the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia* is warranted by my Consent and Authority. As I have already informed you, by my severall Declarations and Messages, that the same is against the known Law, and an invasion of my unquestionable Right, and of your Liberty and Property, so I do now declare unto you, that the same is imposed upon you against my Expresse Consent, and in contempt

contempt of my Regal Authority: and therefore whosoever shall henceforth presume to Execute or Obey the same, I shall proceed against them, as against such who promote Rebellion, and actually leavy Warre against me: and I doubt not, but you will sadly consider, that if any Authority without and against my Consent may lawfully impose such burthens upon you, it may likewise take away all that you have from you, and subject you to their lawlesse Arbitrary power and Government: And how far they are like to exercise that jurisdiction towards you, you may guesse by the insolence of Sir *Iohn Hotham* at *Hull*, who (being a Subject) not only presumes to keep his Soveraign, by force of Arms out of His Town, but murthers his fellow Subjects, imprisons them, burns their Houses, drowns their Land, takes them Captive and commits such Outrages and Acts of Hostility, as the most unequall and outragious Enemies practice in any Countrey; that you may see how impossible it is for your Liberties and Properties to be preserved when your King is Oppressed, and his just Rights taken from him. Who hath brought these Calamities upon your Neighbours at *Hull*, every Man sees, and they only can bring the same upon you. I will not believe you to be so insensible of the benefits you have received from me, that I need put you in mind of the Gracious Acts passed by me this Parliament on your behalfs: and if there be any thing wanting to the making you the happiest Subjects in the World, I am sure it is not my fault, that you have not that too. Be not deceived with words and generall expressions; it is not in your power to name one particular, which might make you happy, that I have refused to Grant: Be not frighted with Apprehension that this Country is like to be the seat of a Warre, the seat of a Warre will be only where persons rise in Rebellion

bellion against me; that will not, I hope, be here, d then you shall be sure of my protection. I will live nd dye in your defence. And that you may be in a rea- ineſſe, and a poſture to defend your ſelves, and e against any Invaſion or Rebellion. I have Armed verall perſons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation mongſt you, & of your own Country, with a Commiſ- ion of Array to that purpoſe. There is no honeſt end eclared in that Ordinance, which is not provided for this Commiſſion, which being according to the old own Law, is fit for your obedience, and I doubt ot but you will find it.

In a word, I aſſure you, upon the Faith and Honour f a Chriſtian King, I will be allwaies as tender of any hing which may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, rotect and preſerve the Lawes of the Land, and defend he juſt privilege and freedom of Parliament, as of my ife, or my Crown: and when I fail in either of theſe, will not look for your aſſiſtance; till then you are oncerned not to ſee me ſuffer.

His Majeſties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of Leiceſter, *at* Leiceſter, July 20. 1642.

Gentlemen,

SInce I have found my preſence ſo very acceptable amongſt my good Subjects in theſe Northern arts, and that the Errors and Miſtakes amongſt hem, have wholy proceeded from miſ-information, nd are removed with more ſatisfaction and eaſe to hem than they were received; I hold it a piece of my duty, to take the utmoſt pains I can, fully to nforme and undeceive my people; and rather to pre- ent Crimes, than to puniſh them: in this Errand

I am come to you, amongst whom there hath n
been the least misunderstanding, to shew you, that
do not suspect any malice in the place, or in the peo
ple, though persons of as ill dispositions have been bu
sy in it, and amongst you, as in any County in *Eng*
land, and such who have taken as great pains to do mi
chief, and to bring Confusion, as good men shou
for peace and happiness: Though tis as true that ver
many worthier persons amongst you have appeared
contrary affections, which I shall alwaies acknowledg
I am come to you in a time too, when nothing cou
invite me to such a journey, but my affection to, a
good esteem of you; having sent such Propositions,
Peace and accommodation to my two Houses of Parl
ament, that I hope to have no other use of your affec
ons, but in your prayers; being sure they will subm
to them with alacrity, if the unexcusable Enemies
the peace of the kingdom be not strong enough to pr
vaile: And then you will find your selves so much con
cerned (for I have required nothing that with more j
stice can be denied me (if it be truly weighed) tha
my Crown, or my Life may be taken from me) that
shall not need to ask your assistance: I know you wi
bring Horse, Men, Money, and Hearts worthy suc
a Cause. Your Religion, your Liberties, your Law
(which I will defend with my life, I mean the goo
known Laws of the Land, not Ordinances without m
consent, which til within these twelvemonths was nev
heard of from the foundation of this Kingdom) will b
the Quarrell: and in such a cause, the taking away m
Towns, Ships, Arms, and Money from me, shall not di
hearten Me: the concurrence and affection of my peo
ple with Gods blessing will supply and recover all.

His Majeſties Speech to the Gentlemen of Yorkeſhire, Auguſt 4. 1642.

Gentlemen,

WHen I directed that ſummons ſhould be ſent out for your meeting here this day, my principall end was, That I might give you thanks for the great forwardneſſe and expreſſions you have made of your affections to me ſince I came into this Countrey, and to aſſure you, That as the whole Kingdome hath great reaſon to value you exceedingly for it, ſo I ſhall be very unſatisfied with my Self, till I have found ſome way to fix a mark of favour, and eſtimation upon this County, and this people, which may tell poſterity, how good Subjects you have been, and how much Gentlemen; and I am confident the memory of it will grow up with my Sons too, in a juſt acknowledgement. This was the moſt I intended to ſay to you, but there is an unquiet ſpirit abroad, which every day throws in new accidents to diſturb and confound the publick peace. How I was driven from *London*, when I choſe this place for my ſafety, is ſo notorious, that all Men know it, who know any thing; with what ſtrange violence and indignities I have been purſued, ſince I came hither, needs no other Evidence, than Sir *John Hothams* behaviour at *Hull*, who is now arrived to that inſolence, that he will not ſuffer his Treaſon to be longer confined within thoſe walls, but makes ſallies out of the Town upon his fellow Subjects, drowns their Land, burns and plunders their Houſes, murthers, and with unheard of cruelty, torments their perſons; And this with ſo much delight, that he would not have the patience to wait what Anſwer ſhould be ſent to my juſt Demands, though in that reſpect I engaged my

Self to forbear to use any force, and kept my word
but chose the night before that came, (as if he knew
well what Answer I was to receive) to act those Out-
rages.

Yet see the sad effects of Fears and Jealousies, th
miseries they have produced; No Man can tell yo
the least good they have brought forth, or the lea
evill they have prevented: What inconvenience an
burthen my presence hath been here, what distur
ance it hath brought upon the publick, or grievanc
upon any private person, your selves are best judge
And whatever scandall some men have pleased to ca
upon the Cavaliers (which they intend should rea
all my Retinew, and by degrees shall involve
Gentlemen) I am confident, there hath not been a
eminent disorder or dammage befallen any Man,
any person of my Train, or under my protection.

I am sure my directions have been very strict
that point, and if they had not been observed,
thinke I should have heard of it by neerer complain
th: n from *London*; I pray God the same care may
taken there: I am sure it hath not been. And
give you the fullest testimony of my affection to yo
and to the peace of this County, and to shew you t
no provocation shall provoke me to make this pl
to be the seat of the War, I have for your sakes, p
led over the considerations of Honour, and notwi
standing the reproaches every day laid on me,
no siege to that place, that they may not have
least pretence of doing you mischief, but resolve
Gods help to recover *Hull* some other way, for t
I will ever sit down under so bold and unexcusabl
treason no honest man can imagine. But it seems o
Men are not of my minde, but resolve to make a W
at your own doors, whatsoever you do, or I suffer.
what purpose else is their new Generall armed

an authority, to kill and destroy all my good Subjects? their levies of Horse and Foot, some whereof are upon their march towards you, with Cannon mounted? and the sending so many new souldiers into *Hull*, when there is no approach made towards it, but to sally out, and to commit Rapine, and by degrees to pour out an Army upon you? In this I must ask your advice, what you would do for your selves, and what you would have me do for you: you see how I am stript of my Navy at Sea, which is imployed against me; of my Forts and Towns at Land, which are filled with armed men to destroy me; my money and provisions of my House taken from me, and all my Subjects forbid and threatned if they come neer me, that I may by Famine or Solitarinesse be compelled to yield to the most dishonourable Propositions, and so put my Self and Children into the hands of a few Malignant persons, who have entred into a Combination to destroy Vs: And all this done under pretence of a trust reposed by the people. How far you are from committing any such trust, most of the persons trusted by you, and your own expressions of duty to me, hath manifested to all the World; and how farre the whole Kingdome is from avowing such a trust, hath already in a great measure, and I doubt not will more every day appeare, by the professions of every County: for I am wholly cast upon the affections of my people, and have no hope but in the blessing and assistance of God, the justnesse of my cause, and the love of my Subjects, to recover what is taken from me and them, for I may justly say, they are equall losers with me.

Gentlemen, I desire you to consider what course is to be taken for your own security from the excursions from *Hull*, and the violence which threatens you from thence: I will assist you any way you propose.

Next I desire you, out of the publick provision, your private store, to furnish me with such a numb of Arms (Musquets and Corslets) as you may conven ently spare, which I do promise to see fully repaid you: These Arms I desire may be speedily deliver to the custody of my Lord Mayor of *York*, for my principally for those parts, which by reason of their stance from *Hull* are least subject to the fear of violen from thence.

And whosoever shall so furnish me, shall be exc sed from their attendance and service at musters, their Arms shall be restored, which may well sooner than I can promise, or you expect. I des nothing of you but what is necessary to be done the preservation of Gods true Religion, the Laws the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very be of this Kingdom of *England*; for 'tis too evident these are at stake.

For the compleating my Sons Regiment for the gu of his Person under the command of my L. of *Cumb land*, I refer it wholly to your selves, who have exp sed such forwardness in it.

His Majesties Speech and Protestation in the H of His Army, between Stafford *and* Wellington, *after the reading of His Orders.* September. 19. 1642.

Gentlemen,

YOu have heard these Orders read; It is y part in your severall places to observe them actly: The time cannot be long before We com Action, therefore you have the more reason to carefull: And I must tell you, I shall be very s in the punishing of those, of what condition soe

who transgresse these instructions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land; you shall met with no Enemies, but Traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists, such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruine for being Loyall to Vs. That you may see what use I mean to make of your Valour, if it please God to blesse it with successe, I have thought fit to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation, which when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrell, in which I promise to live and dye with you.

His Majesties Protestation.

I Do promise in the presence of Almighty G O D, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will to the utmost of my power defend and maintain *The true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in the Church of England*; And by the Grace of God in the same will live and dye.

I desire to govern by the *known Laws of the Land*, and that *the Liberty and Property of the Subject* may be by them preserved with the same care as my own just Rights. And if it please God, by his blessing upon his Army raised for my necessary Defence, to preserve me from this Rebellion, I doe solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of God, to maintaine *the just privileges and freedom of Parliament*, and to govern by *the known Laws of the Land* to my utmost power, and particularly to observe inviolably *the Laws consented to by Me this Parliament*. In the

Next I desire you, out of the publick provision, or your private store, to furnish me with such a number of Arms (Musquets and Corslets) as you may conveniently spare, which I do promise to see fully repaid to you: These Arms I desire may be speedily delivered to the custody of my Lord Mayor of *York*, for my use principally for those parts, which by reason of their distance from *Hull* are least subject to the fear of violence from thence.

And whosoever shall so furnish me, shall be excused from their attendance and service at musters, till their Arms shall be restored, which may well be sooner than I can promise, or you expect. I desire nothing of you but what is necessary to be done for the preservation of Gods true Religion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the very being of this Kingdom of *England*; for 'tis too evident all these are at stake.

For the compleating my Sons Regiment for the guard of his Person under the command of my L. of *Cumberland*, I refer it wholly to your selves, who have expressed such forwardness in it.

His Majesties Speech and Protestation in the Head of His Army, between Stafford *and* Wellington, *after the reading of His Orders.* September. 19. 1642.

Gentlemen,

YOu have heard these Orders read; It is your part in your severall places to observe them exactly: The time cannot be long before We come to Action, therefore you have the more reason to be carefull: And I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever

wh

who transgresse these instructions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither to fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land; you shall met with no Enemies, but Traitors, most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists, such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned you to ruine for being Loyall to Vs. That you may see what use I meant to make of your Valour, if it please God to blesse it with successe, I have thought fit to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation, which when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrell, in which I promise to live and dye with you.

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mean while, if this time of War, and the great necessity and straits I am now driven to, beget any violation of those, I hope it shall be imputed by God and Man to the Authors of this War, and not to me, who have so earnestly laboured for the preservation of *the peace of this Kingdom.*

When I willingly fail in these particulars, I will expect no aid or relief from any Man, or protection from Heaven: But in this resolution I hope for the cheersull assistance of all good men, and am confident of GODS blessing.

His Majesties Speech to the Inhabitants of Denbigh *and* Flint, *at* Wrexham, Sept. 27. 1642.

Gentlemen,

I Am willing to take all occasions to visit all my good Subjects, in which number I have cause to reckon you of these two Counties, and having lately had a good expression of your loyalty and affections to me, by those Levies which at your charge have been sent me from your parts (which forwardnesse of yours, I shall alwayes remember to your advantage) and to let you know how I have been dealt with by a powerfull Malignant party in this Kingdome, whose designes are no lesse than to destroy my Person and Crown, the Laws of the Land, and the present Government both of Church and State. The Leaders of these men by their subtilty and cunning practises have so prevailed upon the meaner sort of people about *London*, that they have called them up into frequent and dangerous Tumults, and thereby have chased from thence my Self, and the greatest part of the Members of both Houses of Parliament; their power and secret plots have had such influence upon the small

mall remaining part of both Houſes, that under colour of Orders and Ordinances made without the Royal aſſent (a thing never heard of before this Parliament) I am rob'd and ſpoiled of my Towns, Forts; Caſtles, and Goods; my Navy forcibly taken from me, and imployed againſt me; all my Revenues, ſtopt and ſeized upon, and at this time a powerfull Army is marching againſt me. I wiſh this were all; They have yet further laboured to alienate the affections of my good people, they have moſt injuriouſly vented many falſe reproaches againſt my Perſon and Government, they have diſperſed in print many notorious falſe ſcandals upon my actions and intentions, and in particular have laboured to caſt upon me ſome aſperſions concerning the horrid, bloody, and impious Rebellion in *Ireland*. They tell the people that I have recalled two Ships appointed for the guard of theſe Seas; 'tis true: but they conceal, that at the ſame time I ſent my Warrants to the *Downs*, commanding four as good Ships to attend that ſervice in ſtead of thoſe ſhould be recalled, which Warrant by their means could not finde obedience. They forget that they then imployed forty ſhips (many of them my own, and all of them ſet forth at the publicke charge of this and that Kingdom,) to rob and pillage me of my goods, to chaſe my good Subjects, and maintain my own Town of *Hull* againſt me. And that by the abſence of thoſe ſhips from the *Iriſh* Seas, the Rebels have had opportunity to bring ſtore of Arms, Ammunition, and ſupplyes to their ſuccours (to which we may juſtly impute the calamities, which have overwhelmed my poor Proteſtant Subjects there.) They cry out upon a few ſuits of clothes appointed (as they ſay) for Ireland, which ſome of my Forces took, but conceal that they were taken as entring into *Coventry* (then in open rebellion againſt me)

me) where I had reason to believe they would have been disposed of amongst their Souldiers who there bore arms against me: they talk of a few horses which I have made use of for my Carriages (concealing that they were certified to be useless for the service of *Ireland*) when they themselves have seized 100000 pounds particularly appointed by Act of Parliament for the relief of *Ireland* (where my Army is ready to perish for want of it) and imployed it (together with such part of the 400000 l. subsidy as they have received) to maintain an unnaturall Civil War at home. Neither have they used their fellow Subjects better than they have done me their King. By their power the Law of the Land (your birth-right) is trampled upon, and instead thereof they govern my people by Votes, and arbitrary Orders. Such as will not submit to their unjust unlimited power are imprisoned, plundred, and destroyed; such as will not pay such exactions as they require towards this rebellion are threatned to be put out of protection (as they call it) of the Parliament; such as conscienciously remember their duty and loyalty to Me their Soveraigne are reviled, persecuted, and declared Traytors; such as do desire to maintain the true Protestant Religion, as it is established by the Laws of the Land, are traduced, and called Popish and superstitious: And on the contrary, such as are known Brownists, Anabaptists, and publick depravers of the Book of Common Prayer, are countenanced and encouraged. They exact and receive Tonnage and Poundage, and other great duties upon Merchandizes, not onely without Law, but in the face of an Act of Parliament to the contrary past this present Parliament, which puts all men into the condition of a *Præmunire* that shall presume so to oppresse the people. If you desire to know who are the contrivers of these wicked designes, you shall finde some of their

name

names in particular, and their actions at large in my Declaration of the 12 of Auguſt (to which I ſhall refer you) I wiſh their craft and power were not ſuch, that few of thoſe copies can come to the view of my good people; ſince that time theſe men ſo thirſt after the deſtruction of this Kingdom, that they have prevailed to make all my offers of Treaty (which might bring peace to this Kingdom, & beget a good underſtanding between me and my Parliament) fruitleſſe. In this diſtreſſe into which theſe men have brought me, & this Kingdom, my confidence is in the protection of Almighty God, & the affections of my good people; & that you may clealy ſee what my reſolutions are, I ſhall cauſe my voluntary Proteſtation lately taken to be read to you. And I deſire that the Sheriffs of theſe two Counties will diſpoſe copies of that and what I now deliver unto you, having no other way to make it publick; theſe men having reſtrained the uſe of my preſſes at *London*, and the Vniverſities.

His Majeſties Speech to the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the County of Salop, *at* Shrewsbury, September 28. 1642.

Gentlemen,

IT is ſome benefit to Me, from the inſolencies and miſſortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to ſo good a part of my Kingdom, and to ſo faithfull a part of my people; I hope neither you nor I ſhall repent my coming hither, I will doe my part that you may not, and of you I was confident before I came. The reſidence of an Army is not uſually pleaſant to any place, and mine may carry

carry more fear with it, ſince it may be thought (being robbed and ſpoyled of all my own, and ſuch terrour uſed to fright and keep all men from ſupplying me) I muſt onely live upon the aid and relief of my people; but be not affraid: I would to God my poor Subjects ſuffered no more by the Inſolence and Violence of that Army raiſed againſt me (though they have made themſelves wanton even with plenty) than you ſhall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all diſorders: I will do my beſt, and this Ile promiſe you, no man ſhall be a loſer by me, if I can help it.

I have ſent hither for a Mint; I will melt down all my own Plate, and expoſe all my Land to Sale or Morgage, that, if it be poſſible, I may not bring the leaſt preſſure upon you: In the mean time, I have ſummoned you hither, to invite you to doe that for me and your ſelves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men doe againſt Vs. Doe not ſuffer ſo good a cauſe to be loſt for want of ſupplying me with that which will be taken from you, by thoſe who purſue me with this violence. And whileſt theſe ill men ſacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmoſt Induſtry to deſtroy the Common-wealth, be you no leſſe liberall to preſerve it: Aſſure your ſelves if it pleaſe God to bleſſe me with ſucceſſe, I ſhall remember the Aſſiſtance every particular man here gives me, to his Advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiouſly ſoever the mindes of men are now poſſeſſed) be honour and comfort to you, that with ſome charge, and trouble to your ſelves, you did your part to ſupport your King, and preſerve the Kingdom.

I deſire Maſter Sheriff, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, to diſtribute themſelves in that method, that they

may best receive the expressions which you shall ke of your affections, the which I will have particu- ly represented to Me.

His Majesties Speech to the Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Oxon, *at* Oxford, Novemb. 2. 1642.

Gentlemen,

THough you see my Army marching from hence, I doe not intend to leave you, my Residence shall be so near, that my power shall have an influence upon this place (of which I will besides take a particular care) for your protection, therefore fear not to expresse your affections to Me with that courage which becomes you: I know how, and by whom this Countrey hath been awed, but I hope no man shall have more power to fright you from your Loyalty, than I have to restore you to it; and I shall witnesse by the evidence of this day at your naturall dispositions. In assisting me, you defend your selves, for believe it, the Sword which is now drawn against me, will destroy you, if I defend you not. I have, and will venture my life for you, 'twill be a shame for you to venture nothing. Whatsoever you shall be willing freely to contribute, I will take kindly of you, and whatsoever you shall lend me, I will in the word of a King see justly repayed to you.

I appoint the Sheriffe to receive such money or plate as you (Gentlemen) shall be willing to assist me with and to return their names to me: And you of the Clergy shall repair to Mr. Vice-Chancellour, who shall doe the like, and expect that you should advance this Service throughout the Countrey, and

return

return your Collections suddenly to me by the hand
the Sheriffe. And I assure you I shall take especiall
tice of such who shall be backward in this time of so
ble necessity.

His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Hou
of Parliament assembled at Oxford. Janua-
ry 22. 1643.

My Lords, and Gentlemen.

WHen I consider your publick Interests
Concernments in the happinesse and hon
of this Nation, and your particular sufferings in t
Rebellion, for your affection and Loyalty to me
must look upon you as the most competent Consi
rers and Counsellours how to manage and impr
the Condition We are all in; for sure our Condit
is so equall, that the same violence hath oppre
Us all.

I have therefore called you together to be witn
ses of my Actions, and privy to my Intentions;
certainly if I had the least thought, disagreeing w
the happinesse and security of this Kingdom, I wo
not advise with such Counsellours, and I doubt
but your concurrence with Me will so far prevail o
the hearts and understandings of this whole Ki
dom, (who must look upon you as persons natur
and originally trusted by and for them) that it
be above the reach and malice of those who have hith
to had too great an influence upon the people, to disc
my most entire Actions, and sincere Promises; you
be the best witnesses for the one, and security for
o.her.

Very many of you can bear Me witnesse with w
unwillingnesse I suffered My Self first to take up t
defen

defensive Arms; indeed with so great, that I was first almost in the power of those who in two set Battels, have sufficiently informed the World how tender they have been of the safety of my Person. I foresaw not onely the rage and oppression which would every day break out upon My Subjects, as the malice of these ill men increased, and their purposes were detected; but also the great inconveniences My best Subjects would suffer even by My own Army, raised and kept for their preservation and protection; for I was not so ill a Souldier, as not to foresee how impossible it was to keep a strict discipline, I being to struggle with so many defects and necessities: and I assure you the sense I have of their sufferings, who deserve well of Me, by My Forces, hath been a greater grief to Me than any thing for My own particular. My hope was, that either by successe on My part, or Repentance on theirs, God would have put a short end to this great storm. But guilt and dispair have made these Men more wicked, than I imagine they at first intended to be: for instead of removing and reconciling these bloody Distractions, and restoring peace to this languishing Countrey, they have invited a Forreign power to invade this Kingdom, & that in your names, and challenge this Invasion from them as a debt to the Common-wealth. You (My Lords) have, like your selves (as good *Patriots*) exprest your dissent, and vindicated your selves from that imputation: and I doubt not but you (Gentlemen) will let your Countries know how far you are from desiring such assistance, and how absolute and peremptory a breach this raising of Arms of My *Scots* Subjects is of that pacificaion, which was so lately and solemnly made by you, and can intend nothing but a conquest of you and your Laws. I shall send you all the advertisements I have of that businesse which is threat-

ned

ned from *Scotland*, and what is already acted fr
thence; and shall desire your speedy advice and assista
what is to be said or done, both with reference to thi
and that Kingdom.

Our ends being the same, I am sure there will
no other difference in the way, than what upon deb
and right understanding will be easily adjusted. Let
Religion (in which We are all most nearly concern
and without care of which We must not looke
Gods blessing) be vindicated and preserved; Let
Honour and Rights (which you finde to have an in
parable relation with your own interests) be vindic
ted and restored; Let your Liberties, Properties, Pri
leges, (without which I would not be your King) be
cured and confirmed, and there is nothing you can a
vise Me to, I will not meet you in; and I doubt n
but We shall together inform Posterity, how much o
trust and confidence in each other, is a better expedie
for the Peace and preservation of the Kingdome, th
Fears and jealousies.

I shall keep you no longer from consulting togethe
than in telling you, that I have prepared fit places f
your Meetings, to which I desire you to repair this nig
assuring you, that I will be alwayes ready to receive
thing from you, admitting you to me, or coming to y
My Self, whensoever you shall desire. And so God dir
you the best way.

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*His Majesties Speech and Protestation, before H
receiving the holy Eucharist, at* Christ-Church i
Oxford. 1643.

His MAJESTY *being to receive the Sacr
ment from the hands of the Lord Arch-Bisho
Armagh, used these publick Expressions, imm
diate*

diately before His receiving the blessed Elements; He rose up from His knees, and beckning to the Arch-Bishop for a short forbearance, made this Protestation.

MY Lord, I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the World the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared My Soul to become a Worthy Receiver: And may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I doe intend the establishment of the true Reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beauty, in the happy dayes of Queen *Elizabeth*, without any connivence at Popery. I blesse God, that in the midst of these publick distractions, I have still liberty to Communicate; And may this Sacrament be My Damnation, if My Heart do not joyn with My Lips in this Protestation.

His Majesties Speech to the Members of both Houses at Oxford. *Feb.* 7. 1643.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Have hardly thus long forborn to give you thanks for the care and pains you have taken for the publick safety since your coming together. And first, I thank you for your inclination to peace; to which as My willingness of complying shewed the constancy of My endeavours in the best way for the publick good, so the Rebels by their scornfully rejecting your Overtures (as they have done heretofore mine) have shewed their constancy in their way.

Next, I must thank every one of you for so cheerfull applying your selves to the maintenance and Recruiting of my Army, which I hope God will so blesse, that

that thereby these Enemies of peace shall have their d
reward. And truly (my Lords and Gentlemen) th
alacrity of yours for providing for My Army, do
please me in no consideration so much, as that it
the best way for peace; for certainly this strange arr
gancy of refusing to Treat with you can proceed fro
nothing but their contempt of Our Forces. But it
your present Honour, and will be more to Posterity, th
God hath made you instruments to defend your Sov
raign, and to preserve your Countrey; to see that Re
ligion and Law to flourish which you have rescued fro
the violence of Rebellion; for which I hope in time
recompence every one of you: But if I shall not, here
One I hope will, in which he shall but perform my com
mands. For I have no greater sadnesse for those who a
my ill Subjects, than I have joy and comfort in your affe
ctions and fidelities.

And so GOD prosper your proceedings.

His Majesties Speech to the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, *at their Recesse.* April 26. 1644.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am now brought to you by your selves, for
should not soon have parted with you, if you h
not desired it, and I believe that the same zeal a
affection to Me and your Countrey, which ha
brought and staid you here, hath caused you to se
this *Recesse*, that so by distributing your selves in
your severall Countreys, We may all the better reap
fruits of Our Consultations; wherefore in Gods na
dispose of your selves as you think fit. I heartily th
you for what you have done, and fully approve of w
you desire.

I think moſt (if not all) of you are engaged in my ſervice, either in a Civill, or Martiall way; to you that have charge in my Armies, I recommend the diligent attendance on your Commands, that ſo by your good example and diſcipline, you may ſuppreſſe licenſe and diſorder, which will diſcredit, and may deſtroy the beſt cauſe.

And to you who are engaged in the Civill affairs, I muſt recommend theſe few particulars; That you expedite thoſe ſupplies of Monyes, which by your advice I have ſent for, whether by Subſcription or Exciſe, remembring that Monyes are the Nerves of War.

Likewiſe that you uſe your beſt diligence for the Preſſing of men, and encouragement of Voluntiers; by ſhewing them, that now the only way to preſerve themſelves from ſlavery, and their Country from ruine, is freely to engage their perſons.

But chiefly, and with all poſſible care to enform all my Subjects of the barbarity and odiouſneſſe of this Rebellion, how ſollicitous I have been for Peace, and how inſolently & ſcornfully rejected, aſſuring them that my Arms are raiſed, and kept only for the defence of their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, which being once ſecured and vindicated, I ſhall moſt cheerfully lay them down, I having (God knowes) with much unwillingneſſe taken them up.

Laſtly, aſſure them that theſe extraordinary wayes which neceſſity hath produced (and moſt of them not without your conſent or advice) for my ſupply, ſhall not hereafter be brought in example to their prejudice, and I ſhall in the mean time do my beſt to prevent, and puniſh all exorbitances and diſorders.

To conclude (My Lords and Gentlemen) I do now againe (yet never enough) thank you for your great,

and unanimous expressions of your affections to me, which hath laid an unexpressable obligation upon me, and be assured that there is no profession which I have made for the defence and maintenance of our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, which I will not inviolably observe.

Now God who hath blessed this meeting with an unexpected unanimity (which I esteem as one not of his least blessings) will I hope bring us all safe together againe the 8 day of *October* next, in the mean time I shall be ready to receive any thing from your Committees that shall be desired.

His Majesties Speech, at the delivery of the Votes for a Personall Treaty, at Carisbrook-Castle, Auguſt 7. 1648.

By an Eye and Ear-witnesse, who not trusting to his memory made use of his Pen. And for the truth of this Relation, the Relator appeals to the Commissioners themselves, or to any there present, who had the happinesse with him, to hear the most pious, most Christian expressions, of a most Religious King.

ON *Monday, Auguſt 7.* 1648. the Commissioners having admittance into the Kings presence, the Votes were first read, and then presented to the King by the Earl of *Middlesex*, who desired his Majesties speedy Answer, Telling Him, that their returne was limited to *ten dayes*: The King then askt, *Whether the ten dayes were not to be counted from that of the delivery of the Message?* My Lord of *Middlesex* answered, *No, Sir, they are to be counted from the day of our setting forth.* The King replyed, *I have not then ten dayes allowed Me to consider of My Answer, which I presume*

presume you expect in Writing; and I have none to help Me, no not so much as a Clerk to transcribe; however I will really contribute My best endeavours to a happy peace. —— After a short pause, the King said, *I would have sent to the Parliament, but I desire them to take notice, that My long silence proceeds not from a dull stupid laziness, or My being insensible of My own or the Kingdoms condition; but from the* incapacity *that lay on Me by reason of former Votes: but now a way is opened to a Treaty, which I ever apprehended, as the only means to a durable Peace, I shall cheerfully embrace it, and none shall more speedily run to it, than my self: And for My part, as being more concerned than any one in the Kingdom, nay should I say more than all, I speak it without vanity, I hope it will be thought no Hyperbolicall expression, for I am assured, whosoever gains, I shall be a loser.* ——

His Majesty then read the Votes to himself, and having read them, said, *I like them well, My desires being included in these Votes: for what can I desire more, than to Treat with* Honour, Freedom, *and* Safety, *upon the Propositions, and such other things as either I or the two Houses shall offer?* —— His Majesty then askt, *Whether the Commissioners to Treat were yet nominated?* My Lord of *Middlesex* answered, *No, Sir.* Then the King said, *In a Treaty two sorts of things are considerable; some* Necessary, *others* Convenient: —— Then the King said to them, *I will go and apply My selfe to My Answer, that I may not delay a minute to promote so good a work:* And then withdrew, and for that time dismissed the Commissioners.

On *Thursday, August* 10. The Commissioners waited on His Majesty to receive His Answer; and upon their entrance into the presence, the King said, *He was sorry He was limited to so short a time, and had so little helps for dispatch, yet notwithstanding He had prepared His Answer*: and immediately before the reading thereof,

used these words, *That the last Message He sent to the Houses, was delivered to the Commissioners Sealed: And had it been so presented, it would have been better for Him; but now he thought it fit to send this open, because he could not be in a worse* Condition, *being under so close a* Restraint, *none being suffered to speak a word to him, with out suspicion.*—— He then produced his Answer, and read it aloud in the presence Chamber, being full of Company, and after he had read it, his Majestey said, *That He hoped He had therein indeavoured to give satisfaction to His Parliament; There being nothing in it but what he conceived is implied in their Votes.* And further added, *That there might be some that would oppose this Treaty, as being gainers by these Wars, and therefore desired the continuance of it. Others might think him revengefull, but he said he was so far from seeking revenge, That if a Straw lay in the way to hurt them, he would stoop and take it up to prevent it*: And said, *God forgive them, for I do.* Then the Commissioners coming to take their leaves of Him, He called them to Him, and asked them, *how they liked his Answer?* They told Him, *they thought and hoped, it would produce a sudden and happy well-grounded peace.*

His Majesties Speech to the Commissioners at the close of the Treaty at Newport. November 4. 1648.

At the close of the Treaty the King made a short Speech to this purpose.

THat his Majesty hoped the Commissioners were now sensible, that none was more desirous of a good and lasting peace than himselfe; that he had gone very farre to give His two Houses satisfaction; that he thought, though the time for the Treaty was ended

yet the Treaty it self was not; that He expected to hear from his two Houses about His own Propositions, and would be ready to make His Concessions binding, by giving them the force of Lawes. He desired that the Commissioners would put a good interpretation upon His vehement expressions in some of His Debates, there being nothing in His intentions but kindnesse; and that as they had taken abundance of freedom, and shewed great abilities in their Debates, which have taken His Majesty off from some of his own opinions, so His Majesty doubted not (had they had power to recede) some of His reasons would have prevailed with them, as He is confident, had it been with His two Houses it would have don with them; And therefore beseeches them to take the same freedom with His two Houses, to press them to a complyance with Him in those things His Conscience is not satisfied in, which more time may do; His Opinion not being like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable, or infallible. Adding his Majesties very hearty thanks for the pains they have taken to satisfie him, professing that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities, desired them candidly to represent al the transactions of this Treaty to his two Houses, that they might see nothing of his Interest, how near or dear soever (but that wherein his Conscience is unsatisfied) can hinder on his part a happy conclusion of this Treaty. And then he and the Commissioners took leave; & that night after supper they came & kissed his hand, and received a great deal of respect from his Majesty.

His Majesties Farewell Speech unto the Lords Commissioners at Newport *in the Isle of* Wight. Novemb. 1648.

MY Lords, you are come to take your leave of me, and I believe we shall scarce ever see each other a-

gaine: But Gods will be done, I thank God, I have made my peace with him, and shall without fear undergo what he shall be pleased to suffer Men to do unto Me.

My Lords, you cannot but know, that in My fall and ruine, you see your own, and that also neer to you; I pray God send you better friends than I have found.

I am fully informed of the whole carriage of the plot against Me and mine, and nothing so much afflicts Me, as the sense and feeling I have of the sufferings of My Subjects, and the miseries that hang over My three Kingdoms, drawn upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their own interests and ends.

These words His Majesty delivered with much alacrity, and cherfullnesse, with a serene countenance, and carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus He parted with the Lords, leaving many tender impressions, (if not in them, yet) in the other hearers.

Fourty severall Messages for Peace, Sent by His Majesty to the two Houses of Parliament, before and since the breaking out of this War (whereof only 21 were formerly Printed together, and the rest which were then omitted, are now added.)

By all which may evidently appear, His Majesties consent and earnest endeavours for peace, both before and after His imprisonment: And His many and gracious Concessions offered for the obtaining of the same.

With two Declarations writen by His Majesty, the

one at *Carisbrook-Castle*, *Jan.* 14. 1647. after the Votes of *No addresses*. The other at *Newport*, *November* 22. 1648. When his Majesty was violently seized upon by the Army, after the Treaty was ended.

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1. *His Majesties Message of the* 20 *of Jan.* 1641. *for composing of all differences.*

HIs Majesty perceiving the manifold distractions which are now in this Kingdom, which cannot but bring great inconveniencies, and mischief to this whole Government, in which, as His Majesty is most chiefly interessed, so He holds himselfe by many reasons, most obliged to do what in Him lies, for the preventing thereof; though He might justly expect (as most proper for the duty of Subjects) that Propositions for the remedies of these evills, ought rather to come to Him than from Him; yet His fatherly care of all His people being such, that He will rather lay by any particular respect of His own dignity, than that any time should be lost for prevention of these threatning Evills, which cannot admit the delayes of the ordinary proceedings in Parliament; doth think fit to make this ensuing proposition to both Houses of Parliament, That they will with all speed fall into a serious consideration of all those particulars, which they shall hold necessary, as well for the upholding and maintaining of his Majesties just and regal Authority, and for the setling of His Revenue, As for the present and future establishment of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying of their estates and fortunes, the Liberties of their persons, the security of the true Religion now professed in the Church of *England*, and the setling of Ceremonies in

such a manner as may take away all just offence. Which when they shall have digested and composed into one entire body, that so His Majesty and themselves may be able to make the more clear judgment of them, it shall then appear by what His Majesty shall do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too great Fears and Jealousies of some persons seem to apprehend: And how ready he will be to equall and exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to their people. So that if all the present distractions (which so apparently threaten the ruine of this Kingdom) do not (by the blessing of Almighty God) end in an happy and blessed accommodation; His Majesty will then be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man to witnesse, that it hath not failed on His part.

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2. *His Majesties Message of the* 15 *of March*, 164[illegible] *from* Huntingdon, *upon His removall to* York, *in pursuance of the former.*

His Majesty being now in His remove to His City of *York*, where He intends to make His residence for some time, thinks fit to send this Message to both Houses of Parliament.

That He doth very earnestly desire that they wil use all possible industry in expediting the businesse of *Ireland*, in which they shall find so cheerfull a concurrence by his Majesty, that no inconvenience shall happen to that service by His absence, He having all that passion for the reducing of that Kingdom, which He hath expressed in His former Messages, and being unable by words to manifest more affection to it, than he hath endeavoured to do by those Messages (having likewise done

such Acts as He hath been moved unto by His Parliament) Therefore if the misfortunes and calamities of His poor Protestant Subjects there shal grow upon them (though His Majesty shall be deeply concerned in, and sensible of their sufferings) He shall wash His hands before all the World, from the least imputation of slacknesse in that most necessary & pious work.

And that His Majesty may leave no way unattempted, which may beget a good understanding between Him and His Parliament, He thinks it necessary to declare, That as he hath been so tender of the privileges of Parliament, that He hath been ready and forward to retract any Act of His own, which He hath been informed hath trencht upon their privileges, so He expects an equall tendernesse in them of His Majesties known and unquestionable privileges (which are the privileges of the Kingdom) amongst which He is assured it is a fundamentall one, That His subjects cannot be obliged to obey an Act, Order, or Injunction to which His Majesty hath not given His consent: And therefore He thinks it necessary to publish, That He expects, and hereby requires Obedience from all his loving Subjects, to the Lawes established, and that they presume not upon any pretence of Order, or Ordinance (to which His Majesty is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing to do or execute what is no warranted by those Lawes His Majesty being resolved to keep the Laws himself, and to require obedience to them from all his Subjects.

And His Majesty once more recommends to His Parliament the substance of His Message of the twentieth of *January* last, that they compose and digest with all speed such Acts, as they shall think fit, for the present and future establishment of their privileges, the free and quiet enjoying their Estates and Fortunes; the liberties of their persons; the security of the true Religi-

gion

on, now professed in the Church of *England*; The maintaining His Majesties regall and just Authority, and setling His Revenue; His majesty being most desirous to take all fitting and just wayes which may beget a happy understanding between Him and His Parliament, in which He conceives His greatest power and riches do consist.

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3. *His Majesties Message from* Nottingham, *when He set up his Standard, the twenty fifth of* August.

1642.

By the Earls of Southampton, *and* Dorset, *Sir* John Culpeper, *Knight, Chancellour of the Exchequer, and Sir* W. Vyedale, *Knight.*

WE have with unspeakable griefe of heart long beheld the distractions of this our Kingdom; Our very soule is full of anguish untill We may finde some remedy to prevent the miseries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a civill Warre: and though all out endeavours tending to the composing of those unhappy differences betwixt Vs and Our two Houses of Parliament (though pursued by Vs with all zeal and sincerity) have been hitherto without that successe We hoped for; Yet such is Our constant and earnest care to preserve the publique peace, that We shall not be discouraged from using any Expedient, which by the blessing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of peace and happinesse to all Our good Subjects: To this end observing that many mistakes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers betwixt Vs and our two Houses of Parliament, which happily may be prevented by some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly understood, and more freely transacted; We have thought fit to propound to you, That some fit persons may be by you enabled

abled to treat with the like number to be authorised by Vs, in such a manner, and with such freedom of debate, as may best tend to that happy conclusion, which all good men desire, *The peace of the Kingdom*: Wherein as We promise in the word of a King all safety and encouragement to such as shall be sent unto Vs, if you shall choose the place where We are for the Treaty, which We wholy leave to you, presuming on the like care of the safety of those We shall imploy, if you shall name an other place; So We assure you and all Our good Subjects, That (to the best of Our understanding) nothing shall be therein wanting on Our part, which may advance the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon which is built aswell our just Prerogative, as the Property and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all just power and privileges of Parliament, and render Vs and Our people truly happy by a good understanding betwixt Vs and Our two Houses of Parliament. Bring with you as firm resolutions to do your duty, and let all Our people joyn with Vs in Our prayers to Almighty God for his blessing upon this Work.

If this Proposition shall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty so amply, that God will absolve Vs from the guilt of any of that blood which must be spilt. And what opinion soever other men may have of Our power, We assure you nothing but Our Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of Blood hath begat this motion, Our provision of Men, Arms, and Money being such as may secure Vs from further violence, till it please God to open the eyes of Our people.

4. His Majesties Message of Sept. 5. 1642. *in pursuance of the former.*

WE will not repeat what means We have used to prevent the dangerous and distracted estate of the Kingdom; nor how these means have been interpreted, because being desirous to avoid effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former bitterness that might make Our offer of a Treaty lesse readily accepted.

We never did declare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houses of Parliament Traytors, or set up Our Standard against them, and much lesse to put them and this Kingdom out of Our protection; We utterly professe against it before God and the World. And further to remove all possible scruples which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by Vs, We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations against all persons as Traytors or other wayes, for assisting Vs, We shall with all cheerfullnesse upon the same day recall Our Proclamations and Declaratians, and take down Our Standard: In which Treaty We shall be ready to grant anything that shall be really for the good of our subjects. Conjuring you to consider the bleeding condition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition of *England*, in as high a degree, as by these Our offers We have declared Our Self to do: And assuring you that Our chief desire in this World is to beget a good understanding and mutual confidence betwixt Vs and Our two Houses of Parliament.

His Majesties Message and Reply to the Answer of both Houses, to His former Message.

September 11. 1642.

WHo have taken most wayes, used most endeavours, and made most reall expressions to prevent the present Distractions and Dangers, let all the World judge, as well by former passages as Our two last Messages, which have been so fruitlesse, That (though We have descended to desire and press it) not so much as a Treaty can be obtained, unlesse We would denude Our Self of all force to defend Vs from a visible strength marching against Vs, and admit those persons accounted as Traytors to Vs, who according to their Duty, their Oathes of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of Vs their King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in Conscience and Honour to preserve) though We disclaimed all Our Proclamations and Declarations, and the erecting of Our Standard as against Our Parliament. All We have now left in Our power is, to expresse the deep sense We have of the publick misery of this Kingdom, in which is involved that of Our distressed Protestants of *Ireland*, and to apply Our Self to Our Necessary Defence, wherein We wholy relye upon the providence of God, the justice of our Cause, and the affection of Our good People, so far We are from putting them out of Our protection. When you shall desire a Treaty of Vs, We shall pitiously remember, whose blood is to be spilt in this quarrell, and cheerfully embrace it. And as no other Reason induced Vs to leave Our City of *London*, but that with Honour and Safety We could not stay there; nor to raise any force, but for the necessary defence of Our Person and the Law, against Leavies in oppo-

sition

tion to both; so We shall suddenly and most willingly returne to the one, and disband the other, as soone as those causes shall be removed. The God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert those judgments which hang over this Nation, and so deal with Vs and Our Posterity, as We desire the preservation and advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and the Law and Liberty of the Subject, The just rights of Parliament, and the Peace of the Kingdom.

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6. *His Majesties Message of* November 12. 1642. *from* Brainford: *After the defeat of the Parliaments forces at* Edge-hill, *and at* Brainford.

WHereas the last night, being the eleventh of *November*, after the departure of the Committee of both Our Houses, with Our gracious Answer to their Petition, We received certaine information, (having till then heard nothing of it, either from the Houses Committee or otherwise) that the L. of *Essex* had drawn his forces out of *London* towards Vs, which hath necessitated Our sudden resolution to march with Our forces to *Brainford*; We have thought hereby fit to signifie to both Our Houses of Parliament, That We are no lesse desirous of the Peace of the Kingdom, than we expresst in Our aforesaid Answer; The Propositions for which, We shall willingly receive where ever We are, and desire (if it may be) to receive them at *Brainford* this night, or early to morrow morning; that all possible speed may be made in so good a worke, and all inconveniencies, otherwise likely to intervene, may be avoided.

And

And to justifie yet further, that Our intention was no other than was here profest, assoone as we were informed that the Earl of *Essex* his Forces were departed from *Kingstone*, before any appearance or notice of further forces from *London*, (Our end of not being inclosed being obtained) We gave orders to quit *Brainford*, and to march away, and possesse that place.

We cannot but make one Argument more of the truth of Our profession, that this was all Our end, and that We had not the least thought by so advancing to surprize and sack *London*, (which the Malignant party would infuse into that Our City) And that is, that probably God Almighty would not have given such a blessing to our journey, as to have assisted Vs so both by Land and Water, as with lesse than a third part of Our Foot, and with the losse but of ten men, to beat two of their best Regiments out of both *Brainfords*, for all the great advantage of their works in them, to kill him who commanded in chief, and to kill and drown many others, to take five hundred prisoners, more Arms, eleven Colours, and good store of Ammunition, fifteen peeces of Ordinance, (Whereof we sunk most that we brought not away) and then unfought with and unoffered at, nearer than by Ordinance, to march away, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of Our forces by the difficulties of the passages, if He, who is the Searcher of all hearts, and Truth it selfe, had not known the truth of our professions, and the innocency of Our heart, and how far We were from deserving those horrid accusations of Falshood, and Treachery cast so point blank upon Our own person, that it would amaze any man to see them suffered to be printed in Our City of *London*, if any thing of that kind could

could be a wonder, after so many of the same, a
how really they desire accommodation, who u
on this have Voted they will have none.

These our Reasons for this Action, This Our sat
faction sent for it, and this blessing of God upon
will (We doubt not) clear Vs to all indifferent pe
sons both of the Jesuiticall Counsels; and the perso
Treachery, to which some have presumed so imp
dently to impute it; And God so blesse Our futu
Actions, as We have delivered the truth of this.

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7. *His Majesties Message concerning His Reply to t
Answer of both Houses to His former Message.*
November 18. 1642.

*To the Answer of both Houses of Parliament to H
Majesties Message of the* 12 *of* November, *His M
jesty makes this Reply.*

That this Message of the twelfth, though not r
ceived by them till the fourteenth, was sent
them first upon the same day upon which it was d
ted, and meeting with stops by the way, was aga
sent upon the thirteenth, and taken upon that d
at ten in the morning by the Earl of *Essex*, & thou
not to him directed, was by him opened, so the slo
nesse of the delivery is not so strange as the stop
The Letter said to be sent by Sir *Peter Killigrew*, wh
His Majestie hath not yet received, but conclu
from the matter expressed to have been contained
that Letter (to wit, to know his pleasure, whet
He intended the forbearance of Hostility) and by
command of such forbearance said to be sent to
Lord of *Essex* his Army that no such forbearance
already concluded, and consequently neither

His Majestie cause to suppose that He should take any of their forces unprovided and secure in expectation of a faire Treaty, neither could any Hostile Act of His Majesties forces have been a course unsuitable to His Expressions, much lesse could an endeavour to prepossesse (for so He hoped He might have done) that place which might have stopt the further march of those forces towards him (which, for ought appeared to him, might as well have been intended to Colebrook as to *Brainford*) and by that the further effusion of blood deserve that stile

His Majestie further conceives, That the printing so out of time of such a Declaration, as their Reply to His Answer to theirs of the six and twentieth of *May*, but the day before they voted the delivery of their Petition, and the march of the Earle of *Essex* his forces to *Brainford* so neare to his Majestie, when the Committee at the same time attended Him with a Petition for a Treaty, the Earle of *Essex* being before possest of all the other Avenues to his Army, by his forces at *Windsore*, *Acton*, and *Kingston*, was a more strange introduction to peace, than for His Majesty not to suffer himself to be coopt up on all sides, because a Treaty had been mentioned, which was so really and so much desired by his Majestie, that this proceeding seems to Him proposely to be by some intended to divert (which it could not doe) that His inclination.

That His Majesty had no intention to Master the City by so advancing, besides His profession, which how meanly soever they seeme to value it) He conceives a sufficient Argument (especially being onely opposed by suspicions and surmises) may appear by His not pursuing His victory at *Brainford*, but giving orders to his Army to march away to *Kingstone* as soone as He heard that place was quitted, before any

notice or appearance of further forces from *Londo*
Nor could he find a better way to satisfie them be-
fore hand, that He had no such intention, but that
His desire of Peace, and of Propositions that might
conduce to it, still continued, than by that Messag
of the twelfth, for which care of His He was requited
by such a reception of His Message and Messenger, a
was contrary at once both to Duty, Civility, and th
very Customes, and Law of War, and Nations, an
such as theirs (though after this provocation) hat
not found from Him.

His Majesty wonders that His Souldiers should b
charged with thirsting after blood, who took abov
five hundred prisoners in the very heat of the fight
His Majesty having since dismissed all the Comm
Souldiers, and entertained such as were willing t
serve him, and required only from the rest an O
not to serve against Him: And His Majesty suppo
such most apt and likely to maintaine their power
blood and rapine, who have only got it by oppres
and injustice; That His is vested in Him by t
Law, and by that only (if the destructive Counsels of
thers would not hinder such a Peace, in wh
that might once againe be the Vniversall Rule, and
which Religion and Iustice can only flourish)
desires to maintain it. And if peace were equally
sired by them, as it is by His Majesty, He conce
it would have been proper to have sent Him such
paper as should have contained just propositions
peace, and not an unjust accusation of His Coun
proceedings, and person. And His Majesty int
to march to such a distant form his City of *L*
as may take away all pretence of apprehension f
His Army, that might hinder them in all secu
from yet preparing them to be sent to Him, and t
will be ready either to receive them, or to end
pres

pressues and miseries, which His Subjects to His great greif suffer through this War, by a present battell.

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8. *His Majesties Message for a Treaty*; March 3. 1643 *from* Oxford.

C. R.

QVt of Our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this Our Kingdome, and Our unwearied desires to apply all Remedies, which by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter ruine; By the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, We do propound and desire, that a convenient number of fit persons, may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons, whom We shall appoint and authorize to treat of the wayes and meanes to settle the present distractions of this Our Kingdom, and to procure a happy peace. And particularly, how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree upon such things, as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed Protestant Religion, with due consideration to all just, and reasonable ease of tender consciences; to the setling and maintaining of Our just rights, and privileges; of the Rights and priviledges of Parliament, the Lawes of the Land, the Liberty and property of the Subject; and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting Peace, both in Church and State; and a perfect understanding betwixt Vs and

O ur people, wherein no endeavours or Concurrence of Ours ſhall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the wayes of peace. *Given at Our Court at* Oxford *the third day of March.* 1643.

Superſcribed,
To the Lords and Commons of Parliament Aſſembled at Weſtminſter.

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9. His Majeſties Meſſage after the ending of the Treaty at Oxford, *concerning the disbanding of all forces, and His returne to the Parliament.*
Aprill 12. 1643. Oxford.

To ſhew to the whole World how earneſtly His Majeſty longs for peace, and that no ſucceſſe ſhall make Him deſire the continuance of His Army to any other end, or for any longer time than that, and untill things may be ſetled, as that the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted courſe, for the defence and preſervation of the Rights of His Majeſty, both Houſes, and His good Subjects.

1. As ſoon as His Majeſtie is ſatisfied in His firſt Propoſition concerning His owne Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts, in which he deſires nothing but that the Juſt, known, Legall Rights of His Majeſty (devolved to Him from His Progenitors) and of the perſons truſted by him; which hath been violently taken from both, be reſtored unto him, and unto them, unleſſe any juſt and legall exceptions againſt any of the perſons truſted by Him (which are yet unknown to His Majeſtie) can be made appear to Him.

2. As ſoon as all the Members of both Houſes ſhall be reſtored to the ſame capacity of ſitting and Voting

in Parliament, as they had upon the first of *January*, 1641. the same of right belonging unto them by their birth-rights, and the free Election of those that sent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to His Majesty in these distractions; His Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such in whose places upon new Writs new Elections have been made.

3. As soon as His Majestie and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the great breach of the privileges, and the high dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the Members of the same, and occasioned two severall complaints from the Lords House, and two severall desires of that House to the House of Commons, to joyne in a Declaration against them, the complying with which desire, might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued; Which security His Majesty conceives can be onely setled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place, at the least twenty miles from *London*, the choise of which His Majesty leaves to both Houses.

His Majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent that both Armies be immediately disbanded and give a present meeting to both His Houses of Parliament at the time and place, at and to which the Parliament shall be agreed to be adjourned.

His Majesty being most confident, that the Law will then recover the due credit and estimation, and that upon a free debate in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious preaching and printing against His Majesty, and the established Lawes, which hath been one of the cheif causes of the present distractions;

and such care will be taken concerning the legall and known Rights of His Majesty, and the property and liberty of His Subjects, that whatsoever hath been published or done, in or by colour of any illegall Declaration, Ordinance or Order of one or both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the power to raise Armes without his Majesties consent, will be in such a manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out for the future, to disturbe the peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it.

And in such a convention His Majesty is resolved by His readinesse to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to Him by Bill for the reall good of His Subjects, (and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of Recusants,) for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion, for the prevention of the practices of Papists against the State, and the due execution of the Lawes, and true levying of the penalties against them, to make known to all the world how causeles those Fears and Jealousies have been, which have been raised against Him, and by that so distracted this miserable Kingdom. And if this offer of His Majesty be not consented to, (in which He asks nothing for which there is not apparent justice on His side, and in which He defers many things highly concerning both Himself and People, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in Justice He might now require) His Majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the World, not onely who is most desirous of Peace, and whose fault it is that both Armies are not now disbanded, but who have bin the true & first cause that this peace was ever interrupted, or these Armies raised; and the beginning or con-

nuan-

nuance of the War, and the destruction and desolation of this poor Kingom (which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most interessed, passionate, or prejudicate person, be imputed to His Majesty.

His Majesties Message of the 19 of May, 1643. in pursuance of the former. Oxford.

Since His Majesties Message of the twelfth of *April*, (in which He conceived He had made such an Overture for the immediate disbanding of all Armies, and composure of these present miserable distractions, by a full and free convention in Parliament, that a perfect and setled peace would have ensued) hath in all this time (above a full month) procured no Answer from both Houses, His Majestie might well believe Himselfe absolved before God and Man, from the least possible Charge of not having used His utmost endeavour for peace: yet when He considers that the Scene of all this calamity is in the bowels of His owne Kingdome, that all the blood which is spilt is of His owne Subjects, and that what victory soever it shall please God to give Him, must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against Him; When he considers that these desperate civil Dissentions may encourage and invite a forraign Enemy to make a prey of the whole Nation; That *Ireland* is in present danger to be totally lost; That the heavy judgements of God, Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, will be the inevitable attendants of this unnaturall Contention; And that in a short time, there will be so general a habit of uncharitableness and cruelty contracted throughout the Kingdome, that even peace it selfe will not restore His people to their old temper and security, His Majesty cannot but againe

call for an Answer to that his Message; which give so fair a Rise, to end these unnaturall distractions. And His Majestie doth this with the more earnestnesse, because He doubts not the condition of His Armies in severall parts, His strength of Horse, Foot, and Artilery, His plenty of Ammunition (which some men lately might conceive He wanted) is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed, that nothing but the tendernesse and love to his people, and those Christian impressions which alwaies have, and He hopes alwayes shall dwell in his heart, could move Him once more to hazard a refusall. And He requires them as they will answer to God, to Himself, and all the World, that they will no longer suffer their fellow subjects to welter in each others blood; That they will remember by whose authority, and to what end they met in that Councell, and send such an Answer to His Majesty as may open a door to let in a firm peace and security to the whole Kingdom. If His Majesty shall againe be disapointed of His intentions herein, the blood, rapine, and distraction, which must follow in *England*, and *Ireland*, will be cast upon the account of those who are deaf to the motion of peace and accommodation.

II. *His Majesties Message from* Evesham, *after the defeat of* Waller *at* Cropredy-*bridge*, July 4. 1644.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

C. R.

WE being deeply sensible of the miseries and calamities of this Our Kingdome, and of the grievous sufferings of Our poor subjects, do most

earnestly desire that some expedient may be found out, which by the blessing of God may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the Nation to peace, from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given Vs on the contrary part shall make Vs cease, so no successe on Ours shall ever divert Vs. For the effecting whereof We are most ready and willing to condiscend to all that shall be for the good of Vs and Our people, whether by way of confirmation of what We have already granted, or such further concession as shall be requisite to the giving a full assurance of the performance of all Our most reall professions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion established in this Kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just privileges of Parliament, and the liberty and property of the Subject, according to the Laws of the Land; as also by granting a generall pardon without or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed peace, we do desire and propound to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, That they appoint such, and so many persons as they shall think fit sufficiently authorized by them to attend Vs at Our Army, upon safe conduct to come and return (which We do hereby grant) and conclude with Vs, how the premises and all other things in question betwixt Vs and them, may be fully setled; whereby all unhappy mistakings betwixt Vs and Our People being removed, there may be a present Cessation of Arms, and as soone as may be, a totall disbanding of all Armies, the Subject have his due, and We be restored to Our Rights. Wherein if this Our offer shall be accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on Our part, which may

make

make Our people secure and happy.

Given at Our Court at Evesham *the fourth of July* 1644.

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12. *His Majesties Message from* Taveſtock *for Accommodation,* Septemb. 8. 1644. *After the defeat of the Earl of* Eſſex *in* Cornwall.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

C. R.

IT having pleaſed GOD in ſo eminent a manner lately to bleſſe Our Armies in theſe parts with ſucceſſe, We doe not ſo much joy in that bleſſing for any other conſideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a meanes to make others lay to heart as We doe, the miſeries brought and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnaturall War, and that it may open your eares, and diſpoſe your mindes to embrace thoſe offers of peace and reconciliation, which have been ſo often, and ſo earneſtly made unto you by Vs, and from the conſtant and fervent endeavours of which we are reſolved never to deſiſt. In purſuance whereof, We do upon this occaſion conjure you to take into conſideration Our (too long neglected) Meſſage of the fourth of *July* from *Eveſham* which We again renue unto you. And that you will ſpeedily ſend Vs ſuch an Anſwer thereunto, as may ſhew unto Our poor Subjects, ſome light of a deliverance from their preſent calamities by a happy accommodation, toward which We do here engage the word of a King, to make good all thoſe things which We have therein promiſed, and really to endeavour a happy concluſion of this Treaty. And ſo

God

God direct you in the wayes of peace.

Given at Our Court at Tavestock, *the eigth of* Septemb. 1644.

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13. *His Majesties Message for a safe conduct for certain persons of Honour, to be sent with Propositions of Peace.* Decemb. 5. 1645. Oxford.

Charls R.

HIs Majesty being deeply sensible of the continuation of this bloody and unnaturall War, cannot think himself discharg'd of the duty He owes to God, or the affection and regard He hath to the preservation of His people, without the constant application of His earnest endeavours to finde some Expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions, if that may be, doth therefore desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent, for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *Iohn Ashburnham*, and *Jeffery Palmer* Esquires, and their attendants, with Coaches, Horses, and other accommodations for their journey to *Westminster*, during their stay there, and return when they shall think fit. Whom His Majesty intends to send to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furnished with such Propositions, as His Majesty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, 5 *Decemb.* 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

make Our people secure and happy.

Given at Our Court at Evesham *the fourth of July* 1644.

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12. *His Majesties Message from* Taveſtock *for Accommodation*, Septemb. 8. 1644. *After the defeat of the Earl of* Eſſex *in* Cornwall.

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.

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IT having pleaſed GOD in ſo eminent a manner lately to bleſſe Our Armies in theſe parts with ſucceſſe, We doe not ſo much joy in that bleſſing for any other conſideration, as for the hopes We have that it may be a meanes to make others lay to heart as We doe, the miſeries brought and continued upon Our Kingdom by this unnaturall War, and that it may open your ears, and diſpoſe your mindes to embrace thoſe offers of peace and reconciliation, which have been ſo often, and ſo earneſtly made unto you by Vs, and from the conſtant and fervent endeavours of which we are reſolved never to deſiſt. In purſuance whereof, We do upon this occaſion conjure you to take into conſideration Our (too long neglected) Meſſage of the fourth of *July* from *Eveſham*, which We again renue unto you. And that you will ſpeedily ſend Vs ſuch an Anſwer thereunto, as may ſhew unto Our poor Subjects, ſome light of a deliverance from their preſent calamities by a happy accommodation, toward which We do here engage the word of a King, to make good all thoſe things which We have therein promiſed, and really to endeavour a happy concluſion of this Treaty. And ſo

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God direct you in the wayes of peace.

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13. *His Majesties Message for a safe conduct for certain persons of Honour, to be sent with Propositions of Peace.* Decemb. 5. 1645. Oxford.

Charls R.

HIs Majesty being deeply sensible of the continuation of this bloody and unnaturall War, cannot think himself discharg'd of the duty He owes to God, or the affection and regard He hath to the preservation of His people, without the constant application of His earnest endeavours to finde some Expedient for the speedy ending of these unhappy distractions, if that may be, doth therefore desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent, for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, *Iohn Ashburnham*, and *Jeffery Palmer* Esquires, and their attendants, with Coaches, Horses, and other accommodations for their journey to *Westminster*, during their stay there, and return when they shall think fit. Whom His Majesty intends to send to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, furnished with such Propositions, as His Majesty is confident will be the foundation of a happy and well-grounded peace.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, 5 *Decemb.* 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

14. *His Majesties Message of Decemb.* 15. 1645. *in pursuance of the former.* Oxford.

C. R.

HIs Majesty cannot but extremely wonder, that after so many expressions on your part, of a dee and seeming sense of the miseries of this afflicte Kingdom, and of the dangers incident to His Person during the continuance of this unnaturall War your many great and so often repeated Protestations that the raising of these Arms hath been onely for the necessary defence of Gods true Religion, His Majesties honour, safety and prosperity, the peace, comfort, and security of his people, you should delay safe Conduct to the persons mentioned in His Majesties Message of the fifth of this instant *December* which are to be sent unto you with Propositions for a well-grounded peace: A thing so far from having been denied at any time by His Majesty, whensoever you have desired the same, that Hee believes it hath been seldome (if ever) practised among the most avowed and professed enemies, much lesse from Subjects to their King. But His Majesty is resolved, that no discouragements whatsoever shall make Him fail of His part in doing his utmost endeavours to put an end to these calamities, which if not in time prevented must prove the ruine of this unhappy Nation. And therefore doth once again desire, That a safe Conduct may be forthwith sent for those persons expressed in His former Message, and doth therefore conjure you, as you will answer to Almighty God in that day when He shall make inquisition for all the blood that hath and may be yet spilt in this unnaturall War; as you tender the preservation & establishment of the true Religion; by all the bonds of duty and

d Allegiance to your King, or compassion to your leeding and unhappy Countrey, and of charity to your selves, that you dispose your hearts to a true ense, and imploy all your faculties in a more serious endeavour, together with his Majesty, to set a speedy nd to these wasting Divisions, and then He shall not oubt, but that God will again give the blessing of eace to this distracted Kingdom.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 15 of Decemb. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore.

His Majesties Message for a Personall Treaty, with Propositions for Peace, December 15. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

NOtwithstanding the strange and unexpected delayes (which can be presidented by no former times) to His Majesties two former Messages, His Majesty will lay aside all expostulations, as rather serving to lose time, than to contribute any remedy to the evils, which (for the present) do afflict this distracted Kingdom; therefore without further preamble, His Majesty thinks it most necessary to send these propositions this way, which He intended to doe by the persons mentioned in His former Messages, though He well knows the great disadvantage, which Overtures of this kind have, by the want of being accompanied by wel instructed Messengers.

His Majesty conceiving that the former Treaties have hitherto proved ineffectuall, chiefly for want of power in those persons that Treated, as likewise

because

because those from whom their power was de
(not possibly having the particular information
every severall debate) could not give so clear a ju
ment as was requisite in so important a busines
therefore His Majesty may have the engagemen
the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*,
Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*,
Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Councell, and Mi
of *London*, of the chief Commanders in Sir *Th*
Fairfax his Army, as also those in the *Scots* Ar
for His Majesties free and safe coming to; and ab
in *London* or *Westminster*, (with such of His
vants now attending Him, and their followers, not
ceeding in all the number of three hundred) for
space of forty dayes, and after the said time for
free and safe repair to any of his Garrisons of *Ox*
Worcester, or *Newark*, (which his Majesty shal no
nate at any time before His going from *Londo*
Westminster) His Majesty propounds to have a
sonall Treaty with the two Houses of Parliament
Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parlia
of *Scotland*, upon all matters which may conduce
the restoring of peace and happinesse to these m
rable distracted Kingdoms: And to begin w
the three Heads which were Treated on at *Vxbri*
And for the better clearing of His Majesties ear
and sincere intentions of putting an end to these un
turall distractions, (knowing that point of security m
prove the greatest obstacle to this most ble
work) His Majesty therefore declares, That He is
ling to commit the great trust of the Militia of
Kingdome, for such time, and with such power,
are expresst in the Paper delivered by His Majes
Commissioners at *Vxbridge*, the sixth of Febru
last to these persons following, *viz.* The Lord *Pr*
Seal, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquesse of *H*
fo

Lord, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Southhampton*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Salisbury*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Warwick*, Earl of *Denbigh*, Earl of *Chichester*, Lord *Say*, Lord *Seymour*, Lord *Lucas*, Lord *Lexington*, M. *Denzil Holles*, M. *Pierpoint*, M *Hen. Bellasis*, M. *Rich. Spencer*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, M. *John Ashburnham*, Sir *Gervas Clifton*, Sir *Hen. Vane jun.* M. *Rob. Wallop*, M. *Thomas Wicheley*, M *Oliver Cromwell*, M. *Philip Skippon*, supposing that these are persons against whom there can be no just exception: But if this doth not satisfie, then His Majesty offers to name the one halfe, and leave the other to the election of the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, with the Powers and Limitations before mentioned.

Thus His Majesty calls God and the World to witnesse, of His sincere intentions and real endeavours, for the composing and setling of these miserable Distractions, which He doubts not, but by the blessing of God, will soon be put to a happy Conclusion, if this His Majesties offer be accepted: Otherwise He leaves all the World to judge, who are the continuers of this unnaturall war. And therefore He once more conjures you, by all the bonds of duty you owe to God and your King, to have so great a compassion on the bleeding and miserable estate of your Countrey, That you joyn your most serious and hearty endeavours with his Majesty, to put a happy and speedy end to these present miseries.

Given at the Court at *Oxford* the 26 of Decem. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

His

16. *His Majesties Message in pursuance of the former, for a Personall Treaty at* Westminster, *Decemb.* 29. 1645. Oxford.

C. R.

ALthough the Message sent by Sir *Peter Killegrew* may justly require an expostulatory Answer, yet His Majesty layes that aside, as not so proper for His present endeavours; leaving all the World to judge, whether his Proposition for a personal Treaty, or the flat deniall of a safe Conduct for persons to begin a Treaty, be greater signes of a reall intention to peace; and shall now onely insist upon His former Message of the 26 of this *December*. That upon His repair to *Westminster*, He doubts not but so to joyn His endeavours with His two Houses of Parliament, as to give just satisfaction, not onely concerning the businesse of *Ireland*, but also for the setling of a way for the payment of the publique debts, as well to the *Scots*, and to the City of *London*, as others. And as already he He hath shewn a fair way for the setling of the Militia, so He shall carefully endeavour in all other particulars, that none shall have cause to complain for want of security, whereby just Iealousies may arise to hinder the continuance of the desired peace. And certainly this Proposition of a personall Treaty could never have entred into His Majesties thoughts, if He had not resolved to make apparent to all the World, that the publick good and peace of this Kingdom, is far dearer to Him than the respect of any particular interest. Wherefore none can oppose this motion, without a manifest demonstration, that he particularly envies His Majesty should be the chief Author in so blessed a work, besides the declaring Himself a direct opposer of the happy peace of the Nation.

tions. To conclude, whosoever will not be asha-med, that his fair and specious protestations should be brought to a true and publick test; and those who have a reall sense, and do truly commiserate the mi-series of their bleeding Countrey, let them speedily and cheerfully embrace his Majesties proposition for His personall Treaty at *Westminster*, which, by the blessing of God, will undoubtedly to these now distracted Kingdoms, restore the happinesse of a long-wisht-for, and lasting peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 29 day of decem-ber. 1645.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, *and the Commissio-ners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

His Majesties Message of Ianuary 15. 1645. *in pur-suance of the former, conteining His Majesties Con-cessions and Offers.* Oxford.

C. R.

BVt that these are times, wherein nothing is strange; it were a thing much to be marvelled at, what should cause this unparallel'd long detention of His Majesties Trumpet, sent with his gracious Message of the twenty sixt of December last: peace being the only subject of it, and his Majesties personall Treaty, the means proposed for it. And it were almost as great a wonder, that his Majesty should be so long from en-quiring after it, if the hourly expectation thereof had not, in some measure, satisfied His impatience: But lest His Majesty by his long silence, should condemne him-self of carelessenesse in that, which so much concerns

the good of all His people, He thinks it high time to
quire after His said Trumpeter: For since all men
pretend any goodnesse, must desire peace; and that
men know Treaties to be the best and most Christi
way to procure it, and there being as little question, t
His Majesties personall presence in it, is the likel
way to bring it to a happy issue, He judges th
must be some strange variety of accidents, which
seth this most tedious delay; wherefore his Maj
earnestly desires to have a speedy account of His
mer Message, the Subject whereof is Peace, and
means His personall presence at *Westminster*, wh
the government of the Church being setled, as it
in the times of the happy and glorious reigns of Qu
Elizabeth and King *James*; and full liberty for the
of their Consciences, who will not communicate
that service established by Law; and likewise for
free and publick use of the Directory (prescribed,
by command of the two Houses of Parliament, n
practised in some parts of the City of *London*) to s
as shall desire to use the same; and all forces be
agreed to be disbanded, his Majesty will then for
with (as He hath in his Message of the twenty ninth
December last, already offered) joyn with his
Houses of Parliament, in setling some way for the p
ment of the publick Debts to his *Scots* Subjects, the C
of *London* and others: and his Majesty having pro
sed a faire way, for the setling of the *Militia*, w
now by this long delay seems not to be thought su
ent security; his Majesty (to shew how really He
imploy himselfe at his comming to *Westminster*)
making this a lasting peace, and taking away all
lousies (how groundlesse soever) will inde
upon debate with his two Houses, so to dispose
(as likewise of the businesse of *Ireland*) as may gi
them and both Kingdoms just satisfaction; not do

also, but to give good contentment to His two ses of Parliament in the choice of the Lord Admi- ; the Officers of State, and others, if His two Hou- by their ready inclinations to peace shall give Him ouragement thereunto. Thus His Majesty having ta- occasion by His just impatience so to explaine His entions, that no man can doubt of a happy issue to succeeding Treaty: if now there shall be so much as lay of the same, He calls God and the World to nesse, who they are, that not only hinder, but st this Kingdoms future happinesse, it being so much stranger, that his Majesties coming to *Westminster*, hich was the first and greatest pretence for taking Arms) should be so much as delayed, much not accepted, or refused; but His Majesty hopes, God will no longer suffer the malice of wicked to hinder the peace of this too much afflicted gdom.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 15 of January, 1645.

the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be Communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of Scotland.

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18. *His Majesties Message of* January *seventeenth*, 1645. *for an answer to His former Messages.*

Oxford.

His Majesty thinks not fit now to answer those aspersions which are returned as arguments for not admittance to *Westminster* for a personall ty, because it would inforce a style not suitable

to His end, it being the peace of those miserable Kingdoms: yet thus much He cannot but say to those who have sent Him this answer, that if they had considered what they had done themselves in occasioning the shedding of so much innocent blood by withdrawing themselves from their duty to Him in a time when He had granted so much to his Subjects, and in violating the known Laws of the Kingdom to draw an exorbitant power to themselves over their fellow Subjects, (to say no more, to do as they have done) they could not have given such a false character of his Majesties actions. Wherefore his Majesty must now remember them, that having some hours before his receiving of their last paper of the 13 of January, sent another Message to them of the 12 wherein by divers particulars He enlargeth himself to shew the reality of His endeavors for Peace by His desired personall Treaty (which He still conceives to be the likeliest way to attain to that blessed end) He thinks fit by this Message to call for an Answer to that, and indeed to all the former. For certainly no rationall man can think their last paper can be an Answer to His former demands, the scope of it being that because there is a War, therefore there should be no Treaty for Peace. And is it possible to expect that the Propositions mentioned should be the grounds of a lasting Peace, when the persons that send them will not endure to hear their own King speake? But what ever the successe hath been of his Majesties former Messages, or how small soever his hopes are of a better, considering the hard strain of those who deal with his Majesty, yet He will neither want Fatherly bowels to His Subjects in generall, nor will He forget that God hath appointed Him for their King with whom He treats. Wherefore He now demands a speedy Answer to

and former Meſſages.

Given at Our Court at *Oxford*, this 17 of January, 1645.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

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9. *His Majeſties Meſſage of January* 24. 1645. *for Anſwer to His former Meſſage, and concerning their Reaſons againſt a Perſonall Treaty.*

Oxford.

C. R

THe procuring Peace to theſe Kingdoms by Treaty, is ſo much deſired by his Majeſty, that no unjuſt aſperſions whatſoever, or any other diſcouragements ſhall make Him deſiſt from doing His endeavour therein, untill He ſhall ſee it altogether impoſſible: and therefore hath thought fitting ſo far only to make reply to that paper or Anſwer which He hath received the thirteenth of this inſtant January, as may take away thoſe objections which are made againſt his Maieſties coming to *Weſtminſter*, expecting ſtill an Anſwer to His Meſſages of the fifteenth, and ſeventeenth, which he hopes by this time have begotten better thoughts and reſolutions, in the Members of both Houſes. And firſt therefore, whereas in the ſaid laſt paper it is objected as an impediment to his Majeſties perſonall Treaty, that much innocent blood hath been ſhed in this War, by his Majeſties Commiſſions, &c. He will not now diſpute (it being apparent to all the World by whom this blood hath been ſpilt) but rather preſſe that there ſhould be no more: and (to that end only) He hath deſired a perſonall Treaty, as judging it the moſt im-

mediate means to abolish so many horrid confusi
in all his His Kingdoms. And it is no Argument,
say, That there shall be no such personall Treaty, b
cause there have been Wars, it being a strong induc
ment to have such a Treaty to put an end to the W
Secondly, that there should be no such personal Treat
because some of His Irish Subjects have repaired
His assistance in it, seems an Argument altogether
strange as the other, as alwayes urging that the
should be no physick, because the party is sick: a
in this particular it hath been often observed unto the
that those whom they call Irish, who have so e
pressed their loyalty to their Soveraign, were inde
(for the most part) such English Protestants,
had been formerly sent into *Ireland* by the two Ho
ses, impossibilitated to stay there any longer by
neglect of those that sent them thither, who shou
there have better provided for them. And for a
Forrain forces, it is too apparent that *their* Armies ha
swarmed with them, when his Majesty hath had ve
few or none. And whereas, for a third impe
ment, it is alleged that the Prince is in the head of
Army in the *West*, and that there are divers G
risons still kept in his Majesties obedience, and t
there are forces in *Scotland*; it must be as m
confessed, as that as yet there is no peace
And therefore it is desired, that by such a per
nall Treaty, all these impediments may be remov
And it is not here amisse to put them in mind, h
long since his Majesty did presse a disbanding of
forces on both sides, the refusing whereof hath b
the cause of this objection. And whereas except
is taken, that there is a time limited in the Propo
on for his Majesties personall Treaty, thereupon
ferring, that he should again return to hostility,
Majesty protesteth that he seeks this Treaty to
fur

cure hostility, and to procure a lasting peace; and he can meet with like inclinations to peace in those he desires to Treat with, He will bring such affections and resolutions in himself, as shall end all these unhappy bloody differences. As for those engagements which his Majesty hath desired for his security, whoever shall call to minde the particular occasions that enforced his Majesty to leave his City of *London* and *Westminster*, will judge his demand very reasonable and necessary for his safety. But he no way conceiveth how the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Councell, and *Militia* of *London*, were either subject or subordinate to that Authority which is alleged, as knowing neither Law nor practice for it: And if the two Armies be, he believes it is more than can be parallell'd by any former times in this Kingdom. Nor can his Majesty understand how his Majesties seeking for a personall security can be any breach of privilege: it being likely to be infringed by hindering his Majesty from coming freely to his two Houses. As for the objection that his Majesty omitted to mention the setling of Religion, and securing the peace of his Native Kingdom, his Majesty declares, that he conceives that it was included in his former, and hath been particularly mentioned in his latter Message of the 15 present. But, for their better satisfaction, he againe expresseth that it was, and ever shall be, both his meaning and endeavour in this Treaty desired; and it seems to him very clear, that there is no way for a finall ending of such distractions as afflict this Kingdom, but either by Treaty or Conquest, the latter of which his Majesty hopes none will have the impudency or impiety to wish for. And for the former, if his personall assistance in it be not the most likely way, let any reasonable man judge: when by that means not only all

unnecessary delayes will be removed, but even the greatest difficulties made easy. And therefore he doth now againe earnestly insist upon that proposition expecting to have a better answer upon mature consideration. And can it be imagined that any propositions will be so effectuall, being formed before a personall Treaty, as such as are framed and propounded upon a full debate on both sides? Wherefore his Majesty who is most concerned in the good of His people, and is most desirous to restore peace and hapinesse to His three Kingdoms, doth again instantly desire an Answer to His said former Messages, to which He hath hitherto received none.

Given at Our Court at Oxon, *the* 24 *of January* 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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20. *His Majesties Message of January the twenty ninth* 1645. *about* Ireland, *and His Majesties further Concessions, and desire of a Personall Treaty.*

OXFORD.

C. R.

HIs Majesty having received information from the Lord Lieutenant and Councell in *Ireland*; That the Earl of *Glamorgan* hath, without his or their directions or privity, entred into a Treaty with some Commissioners on the Roman Catholick party there, and also drawn up and agreed unto certaine Articles

with

with the said Commissioners, highly derogatory to his Majesties honour and Royall dignity, and most prejudiciall unto the Protestant Religion and Church there in *Ireland*; Whereupon the said Earl of *Glamorgan* is arrested, upon suspition of high Treason, and imprisoned by the said Lord Lieutenant and Councell, at the instance and by the impeachment of the Lord *Digby*, who (by reason of his place and former imployment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said Earl hath been to his Majesties intentions and directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the Earl of *Glamorgan* should be any wayes understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his Majesty.

His Majesty, having in his former Messages for a personal Treaty offered to give contentment to His two Houses in the businesse of *Ireland*; hath now thought fitting, the better to shew his clear intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said Houses of Parliament, and the rest of his Subjects in all his Kingdoms, to send this Declaration to his said Houses, containing the whole truth of the businesse, which is,

That the Earl of *Glamorgan* having made offer unto Him to raise Forces in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to Conduct them into *England* for his Majesties Service, had a Commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only.

That he had no Commission at all to Treat of any thing lese, without the privity and directions of the L. Lieut. much lesse to Capitulate any thing concerning Religion, or any propriety belonging either to Church or Laity.

That it clearly appears by the Lord Lieutenants proceedings with the said Earl, that he had no notice at all

of

of what the said Earl had treated and pretended
have capitulated with the Irish, until by accident it ca
to his knowledge.

And his Majesty doth protest, That untill such tim
as he had advertisement, that the person of the sai
Earle of *Glamorgan* was arrested and restrained, a
is abovesaid, he never heard, nor had any kind o
notice, that the said Earle had entred int
any kinde of Treaty or Capitulation with thos
Irish Commissioners; much lesse, that He ha
Concluded or Signed those Articles so destru-
ctive both to Church and State, and so Repugnan
to his Majesties publick professions, and known Reso-
lutions.

And for the further vindication of his Majesties ho-
nour and integrity herein, He doth declare, Tha
He is so far from considering any thing contained i
those Papers or Writings framed by the said Earl
and those Commissioners with whom he Trea-
ted, as He doth absolutely disavow him therein
and hath given commandment to the Lord Lieutenant
and the Councell there, to proceed against the sai
Earl, as one, who either out of falseneſſe, presump-
tion, or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing of hi
Majesties Reputation, with his good Subjects, and so
impertinently framed those Articles of his own head
without the consent, privity, or directions of his Majesty
or the Lord Lieutenant, or any of his Majesties Coun-
cell there. But true it is, that for the necessary preserva-
tion of his Majesties Protestant Subjects in IRELAND
whose case was dayly represented unto him to be s
desperate, his Majesty had given Commission to th
Lord Lieutenant to treat and conclude such a peac
there, as might be for the safety of that Crown, th
preservation of the Protestant Religion, and no wa
derogatory to his own honour, and publick profession

But to the end, that his Majesties reall intentions in this businesse of *Ireland*, may be the more clearly understood, and to give more ample satisfaction to both Houses of Parliament, and the Commmissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, especially concerning his Majesties not being engaged in any peace or agreement there; He doth desire, if the two Houses shall admit of his Majesties repaire to *London*, for a personal Treaty, (as was formerly proposed) that speedy notice be given thereof to his Majesty, and a passe or safe conduct, with a blank sent for a Messenger to be immediately dispatcht into *Ireland*, to prevent any accident that may happen to hinder his Majesties resolution of leaving the Managing of the businesse of *Ireland* wholly to the two Houses, and to make no peace there, but with their consent, which in case it shall please God to blesse his endeavours in the Treaty with successe, his Majesty doth hereby engage himselfe to do.

And for a further explanation of his Majesties intentions in his former Messages, He doth now declare, that if his personall repaire to *London*, as aforesaid, shall be admitted, and a peace thereon shall ensue, He will then leave the nomination of the persons to be intrusted with the *Militia*, wholly to his two houses, with such power and limitations as are expressed in the paper delivered by his Majesties Commissioners at *Vxbridge* the sixth of February, 1644. for the term of seven years, as hath been desired, to be given immediately after the conclusion of the peace, the disbanding of all forces on both sides, and the dismantling of the Garrisons erected since these present troubles, so as at the expiration of the time before mentioned, the power of the MILITIA shall entirely revert and remaine as before.

And

And for their further security, his Majesty (the peace succeeding) will be content, that *pro hac vice* the two Houses shall nominate the Admiral, Officers of State, and Judges, to hold their places during life, or *quam diu se bene gesserint*, which shall be best liked, to be accountable to none but the King, and the two Houses of Parliament.

As for matter of Religion, his Majesty doth further declare, That by the Liberty offered in his Message of the 15 present, for the ease of their Consciences who will not communicate in the service already established by Act of Parliament in this Kingdom, He intends that all other Protestants behaving themselves peaceably in and towards the Civill government, shall have the free exercise of their Religion, according to their own way.

And for the totall removing of all Fears and Jealousies, his Majesty is willing to agree, that upon the conclusion of peace, there shall be a generall Act of Oblivion and free pardon past by Act of Parliament in both his Kingdoms respectively.

And lest it should be imagined, that in the making these propositions, his Majesties Kingdom of *Scotland*, and his Subjects there have been forgotten or neglected, his Majesty declares, That what is here mentioned touching the *Militia*, and the naming of Officers of State, and Judges, shall likewise extend to his Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And now his Majesty having so fully and clearly expressed his intentions and desires of making a happy and well-grounded peace, if any person shall decline that happinesse by opposing of so apparent a way of attaining it, he will sufficiently demonstrate to all the World his intention and designe can be no other, than the totall subversion and change of the ancient and happy Government of this Kingdom

under

under which the English Nation hath so long flourished

Given at our Court at Oxon *the twenty foure of January* 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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21. *His Majesties Message for an Answer to His last.* *Feb.* 26. 1645. Oxford.

C. R

HIs Majesty needs to make no excuse, though he sent no more Messages unto you: for He very well knowes He ought not to do it, if He either stood upon punctilio's of honour, or his own private interest; the on being already call'd in question by his often sending, and the other assuredly prejudg'd if a peace be concluded from that He hath already offered, He having therein departed with many his undoubted Rights. But nothing being equally dear unto him, to the preservation of his people, his Majesty passeth by many scruples, neglects, and delayes, and once more desires you to give Him a speedy answer to his last Message; for his Majesty believes it doth very well become him (after this very long delay) at last to utter his impatience, since the goods and blood of his Subjects cries so much for peace.

Given at the Court at *Oxford*, the 26 day of December 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated, &c.*

His

22. *His Majesties Message for coming to* Londo *upon the faith of the two Houses, March* 23. 1645. Oxford

C. R.

NOtwithstanding the unexpected silence in ste of answer to his Majesties many and gracio Messages to both Houses, whereby it may appear that they desire to obtaine their ends by force, rath than by Treaty, which may justly discourage his Majesty from any more overtures of that kind, yet h Majesty conceives he shall be much wanting in his du ty to God, and in what he oweth to the safety of h people, if He should not intend to prevent the great i conveniences that may otherwise hinder a safe an well-grounded peace. His Majesty therefo now proposeth, that, so He may have the faith o both Houses of Parliament, for the preservation o his honour, person and estate; and that Liberty b given to all those who do and have adhered to h Majesty to go to their own houses, and there to li peaceably enjoying their estates, all Sequestration being taken off, without being compelled to take an Oath not enjoyned by the undoubted Laws of t Kingdom, or being put to any other molestatio whatsoever, He will immediately disband all his Fo ces, and dismantle all his Garrisons, and being a companied with his Royall, not his Martiall Attu dance, returne to his two Houses of Parliament, t there reside with them. And for the better secur of all his Majesties Subjects, He proposeth that h with his said two Houses immediately upon his c ming to *Westminster* will passe an Act of Oblivi and free pardon, and where his Majesty will fu ther do whatsoever they will advise him for the go and peace of this Kingdom. And as for the Ki

do

of *Scotland*, his Majesty hath made no mention it here, in regard of the great losse of time which ust now be spent in expecting an answer from thence, t declares that, immediately upon his coming to *Westminster*, He will apply himself to give them all sfaction touching that Kingdom. If his Majesty uld possibly doubt the successe of this offer, He could many arguments to perswade them to it; but shall ly insist on that great One of giving an instant peace these afflicted Kingdoms.

Given at Our Court at Oxford *the* 23 *of March* 1645.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster.

His Majesties Message of May 18. 1646. *from* Southwel. *Concerning His further Concessions for the obtaining of Peace.*

C. R.

His Majesty having understood from both his Houses of Parliament, that it was not safe for to come to LONDON (whither he had purposed repaire, if so He might, by their advice to do whatever may be best for the good and peace of these dgdoms) untill He shall first give his consent to such opositions as were to be presented to him from m: and being certainely informed that the Armies were marching so fast up to OXFORD, and made no fit place for treating, did resolve to withdraw himselfe hither, only to secure his own person, and ith no intention to continue this Warre any ger, or to make any division betweene his

two

two Kingdoms, but to give such contentment to both as, by the blessing of God, he might see a happy well-grounded peace, thereby to bring prosperity these Kingdoms, answerable to the best times of Progenitors.

And since the setling of Religion ought to be chiefest care of all Councells, his Majesty most earnestly and heartily recommends to his two Houses of Parliament all the wayes and means possible, speedy finishing this pious and necessary work; particularly, that they take the advice of the Divines of both Kingdoms assembled at *Westminster*. Likewise concerning the *Militia* of *England*, for securing his people against all pretensions of danger, his Majesty is pleased to have it setled as was offered at the Treaty at *Vxbridge*, all the persons being to be named for the trust by the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*, for the space of seven years, and after the expiring of that term, that it be regulated as shall be agreed upon by his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament.

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Wars in *Ireland*, his Majesty will do whatsoever is possible for him, to give full satisfaction therein.

And if these be not satisfactory, his Majesty then desires that all such of the propositions as are already agreed upon by both Kingdoms may be speedily sent unto him; his Majesty being resolved to comply with his Parliament in every thing that shal be for the happinesse of his Subjects, and for the removing of all unhappy differences, which have produced so many sad effects.

His Majesty having made these offers, he will neither question the thankfull acceptation of them; nor doth he doubt but that his two Kingdoms will

carefull

refull to maintain Him in his honour, and in His
t and lawfull Rights, which is the onely way to make
happy composure of these unnaturall Divisions. And
ewise will think upon a solid way of conserving the
ace between the two Kingdoms for time to come.
nd will take a speedy course for easing and quieting
afflicted people by satisfying the publique debts,
disbanding of all Armies, and whatsoever else shall
judged conducible to that end: that so, all hinde-
ces being removed, He may return to His Parlia-
nt with mutuall comfort.

Southwell May 18. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

His Majesty being desirous to shun the further effusion of blood, and to evidence His reall intentions to peace, is willing that His Forces in, and about Oxford, *be disbanded, and the fortifications of the City dismantled, they receiving honourable conditions. Which being granted to the Town and Forces there, His Majesty will give the like order to the rest of the Garrisons.*

For the Speaker of the House of Peers, pro tempore, To be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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4. *His Majesties Message from* Newcastle *Iune* 10. 1646. *For Propositions of Peace, and a personall Treaty at* London, *with His Letter to the Governours of all His Garrisons.*

C. R.

His Majesty looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of His people in His three King-

doms for some years past, and being afflicted w
their distresses and unquiet condition, through the
stractions about Religion, the keeping of Forces
foot in the fields and Garrisons, the not satisfy
the publick debts, and the fears of the further effus
of blood by the continuance of an unnaturall War
any of these Kingdoms, or by renting and di
ding these Kingdoms so happily united: And havi
sent a gracious Message unto both Houses of Parli
ment, and the Commissioners of the Parliament
Scotland, expressing the necessary causes of His c
ming from *Oxford* unto the *Scotish* Army, (without
ny intention to make a Division, where He is
freedom and right Capacity to settle a true peac
and containing such offers as He conceived would ha
been accepted, with a generall clause of complyi
with their desires; And being impatient of delay
and not acquainted with the particulars which m
give contentment to them, His Majesty doth earn
ly desire, That the Propositions of Peace so oft
promised, and so much expected, may be speed
sent unto Him, That upon consideration of them, h
may apply himself to give such satisfaction, as may
the foundation of a firm peace. And for the bet
and more speedy attaining thereunto, his Maje
doth further propound, That He may come to *Lo*
don with Safety, Freedom, and Honour, where
resolves to comply with His Houses of Parliament
every thing which may be most for the good of h
Subjects, and perfect what remains for setling bo
Kingdoms, and people in a happy condition; being li
wise most confident, That they according to th
reiterated Declarations, and solemne Protestation
will be zealous in the maintenance of His Honour,
just and lawfull Rights. And his Majesty desires t
Houses of Parliament, To disburden the Kingdo

all Forces and Garrisons in their power, except such before these unhappy times have been maintained or the necessary defence and safety of this Kingdom; So He is willing forthwith to disband all His Forces & Garrisons within the same, as the inclosed order herewith sent will evidence. And if upon these offers His Majesty shall have such satisfaction as He may be confident a firm peace shall ensue thereon, His Majesty will then give order for His Son the Prince his present return.

Newcastle, the tenth of June, 1646.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of* England *at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

My Lords R.

HAving resolved to comply with the desires of Our Parliament in every thing which may be for the good of Our Subjects, and leave no means unassayed for removing all differences amongst Vs; Therefore We have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of Our intentions of setling a happy and firm peace, to require you upon honourable terms to quit those Towns, Castles and Forts, intrusted to you by Vs, and to disband all the Forces under your severall commands.

Newcastle, the tenth of June, 1646.

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved { Sir *Thomas Glenham.* / Sir *Thomas Tildesly.* / Col. *H. Washington.* / Col. *Thomas Blagg.* } Governours of Our Cities and To[wns] of *Oxford*, *Lichfield*, *Worcester*, [and] *Wallingford*.

And all other Commanders of any Towns, Ca[stles] and Forts in Our Kingdom of *England*.

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25. *His Majesties Message of August* 1. 1646. [from] Newcastle, *for a personall Treaty, at or near* Lond[on] *upon the Propositions sent to Him.*

C. R.

THe Propositions tendered to his Majesty by Commissioners from the Lords and Comm[ons] Assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *West*[minster], and the Commissioners of the Parliament [of] *Scotland*, (to which the Houses of Parliament [have] taken twice so many moneths for deliberation, [as] they have assigned dayes for His Majesties Answ[er] do import so great alterations in Government, [both] in Church and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to [re]turne a particular and positive Answer before [a] debate, wherein these Propositions, and the neces[sary] explanations, true sense & reasons thereof be rig[htly] weighed and understood, and that His Majesty [may] a full view of the whole Propositions may know [what] is left, as well as what is taken away and changed [in] which He findes (upon discourse with the said Co[m]missioners) that they are so bound up from any [al]city, either to give reasons for the demands [they] bring, or to give ear to such desires as His Maj[esty] to propound, as it is impossible for Him to give

esent judgment of, and answer to these propositi-
whereby He can answer to God that a safe and
ll-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident
all the World can never be, unlesse the just pow-
of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propri-
of the Subject, with the just liberty and privileges
the Parliament be likewise setled) To which end
Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*,
any of His houses thereabouts upon the publick
th, and security of the two Houses of Parliament,
d the *Scotch* Commissioners, That He shall be there
h freedom, honour, and safety, where by His per-
all presence He may not onely raise a mutuall confi-
nce betwixt him and his people, but also have these
ubts cleared, and these difficulties explained unto
m, which He now conceives to be destructive to
just regall power, if He shall give a full consent to
e propositions as they now stand.

As likewise, that He may make known to them, such
reasonable demands as He is most assured will be
much conducible to that peace, which all good
desire and pray for, by the setling of Religion the
privileges of Parliament, with the freedome and
riety of the Subject; and his Majesty assures
, that as He can never condiscend unto what is
olutely destructive to that just power, which by
laws of God and the Land He is born unto; So
will cheerfully grant, and give his assent unto all
bills, at the desire of his two Houses, or reaso-
e demands for *Scotland*, which shall be really for
good and peace of his people, not having re-
to his own particular (much lesse of any bodies
) in respect of the happinesse of these Kingdoms.
erefore his Majesty conjures them as Christians,
bjects, and as men who desire to leave a good
behinde them, that they will so receive and

make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood be stopped, and these unhappy distractions peace fetled.

Newcastle, August 1. 1646.

POST-SCRIPT.

UPon assurance of a happy agreement, his Maj will immediately send for the Prince his Son, a lutely expecting his perfect Obedience to return in Kingdom.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

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26. *His Majesties Message from* Newcastle, *gust* 10. 1646. *With a generall Answer to the Propositions, and His desire to treat at or near* LONDON.

C. R.

THe Propositions tendered to his Majesty by Commissioners from the Lords and Comm assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *W* and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scot* (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken so many moneths for deliberation as they have ned dayes for his Majesties Answer) do impor great alterations in government both in the Ch and Kingdom, as it is very difficult to return a ticular and positive answer before a full debate w in these Propositions, and the necessary explana true sense and reasons thereof be rightly weighed understood, and that his Majesty upon a full the whole Propositions may know what is left, a

what is taken away and changed. In all which he finds, upon discourse with the said Commissioners, that they are so bound up from any capacity either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give ear to such desires as his Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for Him to give such a present judgement of, and answer to these propositions, whereby He can answer to God that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue (which is evident to all the World can never be unlesse the just power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and privileges of Parliament be likewise setled) To which end his Majesty desires and proposeth to come to *London*, or any of his Houses thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and security of the two Houses of Parliament, and the *Scotch* Commissioners, that He shall be there with freedom, honour, and safety, where by his personal presence He may not only raise a mutual confidence betwixt Him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained unto Him which He now conceivs to be destructive to his just regal power if He shall give a full consent to these propositions as they now stand.

As likewise that He make known to them such his reasonable demands as He is most assured will be very much conducible to that peace, which all good men desire and pray for, by setling of Religion, the just Privileges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject; and His Majesty assures them, that as He can never condiscend, unto what is absolutely destructive to that just power, which by the laws of God and the Land He is born unto; So He will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bils, at the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable demands for *Scotland* which shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own

particular (much lesse of any bodies else) in respect of happinesse of these Kingdoms. Wherefore his Maj. conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as men desire to leave a good name behinde them, that they so receive and make use of this answer, that all issues bloud may be stopped, and these unhappy distractio peaceably setled,

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated, &c.

POST-SCRIPT.

Upon assurance of a happy agreement, his Majesty will immediately send for the Prince His Son, absolutely expecting his perfect Obedience to return into this Kingdom.

His Majesties Message of December 20. 1646. *from* Newcastle, *for a personall Treaty, at or near* London, *upon the faith of the two Houses.*

C. R.

HIs Majesties thoughts being alwayes sincerely bent to the peace of his Kingdomes, was and will be ever desirous to take all wayes which might the most clearly make appear the candour of his intentions to his people; And to this end, could finde no better way than to propose a personall free debate with his two Houses of Parliament upon all the present differences. Yet finding very much against his expectations, that this offer was laid aside, his Majesty bent all his thoughts to make his intentions fully known by a particular Answer to the Propositions delivered to Him in the name of both Kingdoms, the 24 of *July* last. But the more He endeavoured

poured it, He more plainly saw that any answer He could make would be subject to mis-informations and misconstructions, which upon his own Paraphrases and Explanations He is most confident wil give so good satisfaction, as would doubtlesse cause a happy and lasting peace. Lest therefore that good intentions may produce ill effects, his Majesty againe propoſeth, and desires again to come to *London*, or any of his Houses thereabouts, upon the publick Faith and security of his two Houses of Parliament, and the Scotch Commissioners, that He shall be there with honour, freedom, and safety: Where, by his personal presence, He may not onely raise a mutuall confidence betwixt Him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to him, without which he cannot (but with the aforesaid mischievous inconveniencies) give a particular answer to the propositions: And with which He doubts not, but so to manifest his reall intentions for the setling of Religion, the just privileges of Parliament, with the freedom and property of the Subject, that it shall not be in the power of wicked and malicious men to hinder the establishing of that firm peace which all honest men desire. Assuring them, as He will make no other demands but such as He believes confidently to be just, and much conducing to the Tranquillity of the people. So He will be most willing to condescend to them in whatsoever shall be really for their good and happinesse. Not doubting likewise but you will also have a due regard to maintain the just power of the Crown, according to your many protestations and professions. For certainly, except King and people have reciprocal care each of other, neither can be happy.

To conclude, 'tis your King who desires to be heard, (the which, if refused to a Subject by a King, He would be thought a Tyrant for it) and for that end which all men professe to desire. Wherefore his Majesty conjures

you

you, as you desire to shew your selves really what you professe, even as you are good Christians and Subjects, that you will accept this his offer, which He is confident God will so blesse, that it will be the readiest means by which these Kingdoms may again become a comfort to their friends, and a terrour to their enemies.

Newcastle 20 *Decemb.* 1646.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

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28. *His Majesties Message of February* 17. 1646. *from* HOLMBY. *Concerning his* CHAPLAINS.

SInce I have never dissembled, nor hid My Conscience, and that I am not yet satisfied with the alteration of Religion, to which you desire my consent, I will not yet lose time in giving reasons, which are too obvious to every body, why it is fit for Me to be attended by some of my Chaplains, whose opinions, as Clergymen, I esteem and reverence; not only for the exercise of My Conscience, but also for clearing of My judgement concerning the present differences in Religion; as I have at full declared to Master *Marshall*, and his *Fellow-Minister*: having shewed them, that it is the best and likeliest means of giving Me satisfaction, which without it I cannot have in these times: Whereby the distractions of this Church may be the better setled. Wherefore I desire that

at least two of these *Reverend Divines*, whose names I have here set down, may have free liberty to wait upon Me, for the discharging of their duty unto Me, according to their function.

CHARLS R.

Holmby 17 Febr. 1646.

B. *London.*	D. *Sanderson.*
B. *Salisbury.*	D. *Baily.*
B. *Peterborough.*	D. *Heywood.*
D. *Shelden*, Clerk of my Closet.	D. *Beale.*
D. *Marsh*, Deane of *York.*	D. *Fuller.*
	D. *Hammond.*
	D. *Taylor.*

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *&c.*

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19 *His Majesties Message of* March 6. 1646. *from* Holmby *in pursuance of the former.*

C. R.

IT being now seventeen dayes since I wrote to you from hence, and not yet receiving any Answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you. And indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of Christian, I would not thus at this time trouble you with any of My desires. But My being attended with some of My Chaplains, whom I esteem and reverence, is so necessary for Me, even considering My present condition, whether it be in relation to My Conscience, or a happy settlement of the present distractions in Religion, that I will slight divers kinds of censures, rather than not to obtain what I demand; nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this, to doubt the obtai-

obtaining of My wish, it being totally grounded upon Reason. For desiring you to consider (not thinking it needfull to mention) the divers reasons, which no Christian can be ignorant of, for point of Conscience, I must assure you that I cannot, as I ought, take in consideration those alterations in Religion, which have and will be offered unto me, without such help as I desire; because I can never judge rightly of, or be altered in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denied me; but when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to strive for victory in Argument, but to seeke and submit to Truth (according to that judgment which God hath given me) alwayes holding it my best and greatest conquest to give contentment to my two Houses of Parliament in all things, which, I conceive not to be against My conscience or honour; not doubting likewise but that you will be ready to satisfie mee in reasonable things, as I hope to finde in this particular concerning the attendance of My CHAPLAINS upon Me.

CHARLS R.

Holdenby 6. March 1646.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster.

30. *His Majeſties Meſſage with His anſwer in particular to the Propoſitions, May* 12. 1647. *Holmby.*

C. R.

AS the dayly expectation of the comming of the Propoſitions hath made his Majeſty this long time to forbear giving his Anſwer unto them, ſo the appearance of their ſending being no more for any thing he can hear, than it was at his firſt coming hither, notwithſtanding that the Earl of *Lowderdale* hath been at London above theſe ten dayes, (whoſe not coming was ſaid to be the onely ſtop) hath cauſed his Majeſty thus to anticipate their coming to him, and yet conſidering his condition, that his Servants are denied acceſſe to him, all but very few, and thoſe by appointment, not his own election, and that it is declared a crime for any but the Commiſſioners, or ſuch who are particularly permitted by them, to converſe with his Majeſty, or that any Letters ſhould be given to, or received from him, may he not truly ſay, that He is not in caſe fit to make Conceſſions, or give Anſwers, ſince he is not maſter of theſe ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any free-born man, how mean ſoever his birth be? And certainly he would ſtill be ſilent as to this ſubject, untill his condition were much mended, did He not prefer ſuch a right underſtanding betwixt him and his Parliaments of both Kingdoms, which may make a firm and laſting peace in all his Dominions, before any particular of his own; or any earthly bleſſing; and therefore his Majeſty hath diligently imployed his utmoſt endeavours for divers moneths paſt, ſo to inform his underſtanding, and ſatisfie his Conſcience, that he might be able to give ſuch anſwers to the Propoſitions, as would be moſt conformable to his Parliament; but He ingenuouſly

niously professes, that notwithstanding all the pains that He hath taken therein, the nature of some of them appears such unto him, that without disclaiming that Reason which God hath given him to judge by, for the good of Him and his people, and without putting the greatest violence upon his owne Conscience, He cannot give his consent to all of them. Yet his Majesty (that it may appear to all the World how desirous He is to give full satisfaction) hath thought fit hereby to expresse his readinesse to grant what he may, and his willingnesse to receive from them, and that personally if his two Houses at *Westminster* shall approve thereof, such further Information in the rest as may best convince his judgement, and satisfie those doubts which are not yet cleare unto him, desiring them also to consider that if his Majesty intended to winde himself out of these troubles by indirect means, were it not easie for him now readily to consent to what hath, or shall be proposed unto Him; and afterwards choose his time to breake all, alleging, that forced Concessions are not to be kept? surely He might, and not incur a hard censure from indifferent men. But maximes in this kinde are not the guides of his Majesties actions, for he freely and clearly avowes, that He holds it unlawfull for any man, and most base in a King to recede from his promises for having been obtained by force or under restraint; wherefore his Majesty not onely rejecting those acts which He esteems unworthy of him, but even passing by that which He might well insist upon, a point of honour, in respect of His present condition, thus answers the first proposition. That upon his Majesties coming to *London*, He will heartily joyn in all that shall concern the honour of his two Kingdoms, or the Assembly of the States of *Scotland*, or of the Commissioners or Deputies of either

ther Kingdom, particularly in those things which are desired in that proposition, upon confidence that all of them respectively with the same tenderness will look upon those things which concern his Majesties honour.

In answer to all the propositions concerning Religion, his Majesty proposeth, that He will confirm the Presbyterialll government, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and the Directory, for three yeers, being the time set down by the two Houses, so that his Majesty and his household be not hindered from that form of Gods service which they formerly have; And also that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses how the Church shall be governed after the said three yeers, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. Touching the Covenant, his Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, and desires to respite his particular Answer thereunto untill his coming to *London*, because it being a matter of conscience he cannot give a resolution therein till Hee may be assisted with the advice of some of his owne Chaplains (which hath hitherto been denied him) and such other Divines as shall be most proper to inform him therein; and then He will make clearly appear, both his zeal to the Protestant profession, and the union of these two Kingdoms, which he conceives to be the main drift of this Covenant. To the seventh and eighth propositions, his Majestie will consent. To the ninth, his MAJESTY doubts not but to give good satisfaction when he shall be particularly informed how the said penalties shall be levied and disposed of. To the tenth, his Majesties answer is, That He hath been alwayes ready to prevent the

practices

practices of Papists, and therefore is content to
an Act of Parliament for that purpose: And also
the Laws against them be duly executed. His Ma
sty will give his consent to the Act for the due
servation of the Lords day, for the suppressing of
novations, and those concerning the Preaching
Gods Word, and touching Non-Residence and plu
ities, and his Majesty will yeeld to such Act
Acts as shall be requisite to raise monys for the p
ment and satisfying all publick debts, expecting a
that his will be therein included. As to the Propo
tion touching the *Militia*, though his Majesty cann
consent unto it *in terminis* as it is proposed, beca
thereby He conceives, He wholly parts with
power of the Sword entrusted to him by God
the Lawes of the Land, for the protection and
vernment of his people, thereby at once deves
Himself, and disinheriting his Posterity of that r
and Prerogative of the Crown, which is absolutely
cessary to the Kingly Office, and so weaken Mon
chy in this Kingdom, that little more than the na
and shadow of it will remain: yet if it be onely sec
rity for the preservation of the peace of this Kin
dom, after the unhappy troubles, and the due p
formance of all the agreements which are now to
concluded, which is desired, (which his Majesty
wayes understood to be the case, and hopes that he
in He is not mistaken) his Majesty will give abund
satisfaction, to which end He is willing by Act
Parliament, That the whole power of the *Militia*
both by Sea and Land for the space of ten years be
the hands of such persons as the two Houses sh
nominate, giving them power during the said ter
to change the said persons, and substitute others
their places at pleasure, and afterwards to return
the proper Chanel again, as it was in the times
Qu

Elizabeth and King *Iames* of blessed memory. now his Majesty conjures his two Houses of Parliament, as they are Englishmen and lovers of peace, by the duty they owe to his Majesty their King, and by the bowels of compassion they have to their fellow Subjects, that they will accept of this his Majesties offer, whereby the joyfull news of peace may be restored to his languishing Kingdom. His Majesty will grant the same to the Kingdom of *Scotland* if it be desired, and agree to al things that are propounded touching the conserving of peace betwixt the two Kingdoms.

Touching *Ireland* (other things being agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction therein. As to the mutuall declarations proposed to be established in both Kingdoms by Act of Parliament, and the Modifications, Qualifications, and Branches which follow in the propositions, his Majesty only professes, that he doth not sufficiently understand, nor is able to reconcile many things contained in them; but this he well knoweth, that a generall Act of Oblivion is the best bond of peace; and that after intestine troubles, the wisdom of this and other Kingdoms hath usually and happily in all Ages granted generall Pardons, whereby the numerous discontentments of Persons and Families otherwise exposed to ruine, might not become fuel to new troubles, or seeds to future troubles. His Majesty therefore desires, that his two Houses of Parliament would seriously descend into these considerations, and likewise tenderly look upon his condition herein, and the perpetuall dishonour that must cleave to him, if He shall thus abandon so many persons of Condition and Fortune that have engaged themselves with and for him, out of a sense of duty, and propounds as a very acceptable testimony of their affection to him, that a generall Act of Oblivion and free Pardon be forthwith passed by Act of Parliament. Touching the new great

Seal, his Majesty is very willing to confirm both it, all the Acts done by vertue thereof, untill this pre time, so that it be not thereby pressed to make vo those Acts of his done by vertue of his great Seal, whic in honour and justice He is obliged to maintaine: A that the future government thereof may be in his M jesty, according to the due course of Law. Concerni the Officers mentioned in the 19 Article, his Maje when he shall come to *Westminster* will gratifie his P liament all that possible He may, without destroy the alterations which are necessary for the Crown. H Majesty will willinglly consent to the Act for the co firmation of the privileges and customes of the City *London*, and all that is mentioned in the propositio for their particular advantage. And now that his Ma sty hath thus farre endeavoured to comply with the d sires of his two Houses of Parliament, to the end t this agreement may be firm and lasting, without t least face or question of restraint to blemish the sam his Majesty earnestly desires presently to be admitted his Parliament at *Westminster*, with that honour wh is due to their Soveraigne, there solemnly to confir the same, and legally to passe the Acts before men ned, and to give and receive as well satisfaction in the remaining particulars, as likewise such other pled of mutuall love, trust, and confidence, as shall m concern the good of Him, and his people; upon wh happy agreement, his Majesty will dispatch his Di ctions to the Prince his Son, to return immediately Him, and will undertake for his ready obedience the nnto.

Holmby, May 12. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, *to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at* Westminster.

His Majesties Message with His Answer to the Propositions presented to Him at Hampton-Court Sept. 9. 1647. Hampton-Court.

C. R.

HIs Majesty cannot chuse but be passionately sensible (as He beleeves all his good Subjects are) of the late great distractions, and still languishing and unsetled State of this Kingdom; and He calls God to witnesse, and is willing to give testimony to all the World of his readinesse to contribute his utmost endeavours for restoring it to a happy and flourishing condition. His Majesty having perused the Propositions now brought to him; finds them the same in effect, which were offered to Him at NEWCASTLE. To some of which as He could not then consent without violation of his conscience and honour, So neither can He agree to others now conceiving them in many respects more disagreeable to the present condition of affairs, than when they were formerly presented unto Him, as being destructive to the main principall interests of the Army, and of all those, whose affections concur with them. And his Majesty having seen the proposals of the Army to the Commissioners from his two Houses residing with them, and with them to be treated on, in order to the clearing and securing of the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the setling of a Just and lasting Peace. To which propositions, as He conceives his two Houses not to be strangers; So He believes they will thinke with Him, that they much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace, than the propositions which at this time are tendred unto Him. He therefore propounds (as the best way in his judgment in order to a peace) that his two Houses would instantly

take into consideration those propoſalls upon wh
there may be a perſonall Treaty with his Majeſty, a
upon ſuch other propoſitions as his Majeſty ſhall ma
hoping that the ſaid propoſalls may be ſo moderated
the ſaid Treaty, as to render them the more capable
his Majeſties full Conceſſion: Wherein He reſolves t
give full ſatiſfaction to his people, for whatſoev
ſhall concerne the Proteſtant profeſſion, with Liber
to tender Conſciences, the ſecuring of the Lawes, Libe
ties & Properties of his Subjects, and all the juſt privile
ges of Parliaments for the future: and likewiſe by h
preſent deportment in this Treaty, he will make th
World clearly jndge of his intentions in matters o
future Government. In which Treaty his Majeſty wi
be well pleaſed (if it be thought fit) that Commi
ſioners from the Army, (whoſe the propoſalls are
may likewiſe be admitted. His Majeſty therefore co
jures his two Houſes of Parliament, by the duty the
owe God and his Maieſty their King, and by the bow
ells of compaſſion they have to their fellow Subjects
both for relief of their preſent ſufferings, and to pr
vent future miſeries, that they will forthwith acce
of this his Majeſties offer, whereby the joyfull new
of peace may be reſtored to this diſtreſſed Kingdom
And for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland* men
tioned in the propoſitions, his Majeſty will very wil
lingly Treat upon thoſe particulars with the Scott
Commiſſioners; and doubts not, but to give reaſonab
ſatiſfaction to that His Kingdom.

At Hampton-Court *the* 9 of *September*. 1647.

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers
pro tempore, *to be communicated, &c.*

32. *His Majeſties Meſſage left on His Table at* Hampton Court, *Novemb.* 11. 1647.

C. R.

LIberty being that which in all times hath been, but eſpecially now is the Common theme and deſire of all men; common reaſon ſhews, that Kings leſſe than any ſhould endure captivity. And yet I call God and the world to witneſſe, with what patience I have endured a tedious reſtraint: which ſo long as I had any hopes that this ſort of my ſuffering might conduce to the peace of my Kingdoms, or the hindering of more effuſion of blood, I did willingly undergo: but now finding by too certain proofs, that this my continued patience would not only turn to my perſonal ruine, but likewiſe be of much more preiudice, than furtherance to the publick good, I thought I was bound as well by naturall, as politicall obligations, to ſeek my ſafety, by retiring my ſelf for ſome time from the publique view both of my friends and enemies: And I appeal to all indifferent men, to Judge, if I have not juſt cauſe to free my ſelfe from the hands of thoſe who change their principles with their condition, and who are not aſhamed openly to intend the deſtruction of the Nobility, taking away their negative voice, and with whom, the Levellers doctrine is rather countenanced than puniſhed: And as for their intentions to my perſon, their changing and putting more ſtrict Guards upon me, with the diſcharging moſt of all thoſe ſervants of mine, who formerly they willingly admitted to wait upon me, does ſufficiently declare. Nor would I have this retirement miſ-interpreted; for I ſhall earneſtly and unceſſantly endeavour the ſetling of a ſafe and well-grounded peace, where ever I am or ſhall be; and that (as much as may be) without the effuſion of more Chriſtian blood: for which, how many times

have I desired, prest to be heard, and yet no ear gi
to Me? and can any reasonable man think, that (
cording to the ordinary course of affairs) there ca
*a setled peace without it? Or that God will blesse th
who refuse to hear their own King? Surely no. No
must further add, that (besides what concerns my se
unlesse all other chief interests, have not only a hea
but likewise just satisfaction given unto them, (to w
the Presbyterians, Independents, Army, these
have adhered to Me, & even the Scots) I say there ca
(I speak not of Miracles, it being in my opinion, a sin
presumption, in such cases, to expect or trust to them)
a safe or lasting peace.*

Now as I cannot deny, but that my personall se
rity is the urgent cause of this my retirement; s
take God to witnesse, that the publick peace i
lesse before my eyes: and I can find no better wa
expresse this my profession (I know not what a w
may do) than by desiring and urging that all c
Interests may be heard, to the end each may have
satisfaction: As for example, the Army, (for the
though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult
content) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the lib
ty of their Consciences, have an Act of Oblivion
Indempnity (which should extend to all the rest of
Subjects) and that all their arrears should be spee
and duly paid; which I will undertake to do, so I
be heard, and that I be not hindred from using
lawfull and honest meanes as I shall chuse. To c
clude, let me be heard with Freedom, Honour,
Safety and I shal instantly breake through this Clou
retirement, and shew my selfe really to be *P
Patriæ.*

Hampton-Court November 11. 1647

For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore. &c.

33. *His Majesties Message of Novemb.* 17. 1647. *for a personall Treaty, with his particular concessions. From the Isle of* Wight.

C. R.

HIs Majesty is confident that before this time, his two Houses of Parliament have received the Message which He left behind Him at *Hampton-Court* the eleventh of this moneth, by which they will have understood the reasons which enforced Him to go from thence, as likewise his constant endeavours, for the setling of a safe and well-grounded peace whereſoever He should be: And being now in a place, where He conceives Himself to be at much more freedom and security than formerly; He thinks it necessary (not only for making good of His own professions, but also for the speedy procuring of a peace in these languishing and distressed Kingdoms) at this time to offer such grounds to his two Houses, for that effect, which upon due examination of all Interests, may best conduce thereunto.

And because Religion is the best and chiefest foundation of peace, his Majesty will begin with that particular.

That for the abolishing Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. his Majesty clearly professeth, that He cannot give his consent thereunto, both in relation as He is a Christian, and a King: For the first, He avows that He is satisfied in his judgment, that this order was placed in the Church by the Apostles themselves; and ever since their time hath continued in all Christian Churches throughout the World, untill this last century of years; and in this Church in all times of change and Reformation, it hath been upheld by the wisdom of his Ancestors, as the great preserver

of Doctrine, Discipline, and order in the service of G
As a King at his Coronation, He hath not only t
a solemn oath, to maintain this order, but his Maj
and his Predecessours in their confirmations of the gr
Charter, have inseparably woven the right of t
Church into tht liberties of the rest of the Subjects
and yet He is willing it be provided that the particul
Bishops perform the several duties of their calling
both by their personall residence and frequent Preac
ings in their Dioceses, as also that they exercise
Act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consen
of their Presbyter; and will consent, that their powe
in all things be so limited, that they be not grievous t
tender Consciences: Wherefore, since his Majesty
willing to give ease to the Consciences of others, H
sees no reason why He alone, and those of His judgmen
should be pressed to a violation of theirs. Nor can h
Majesty consent to the alienation of Church Lands, be
cause it cannot be denied to be a sin of the highest Sa
crilege; as also, that it subverts the intentions of so man
pious Donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such
profane violations, which his Majesty is very unwilling
to undergo: And besides the matter of Conscience, h
Majestie believes it to be a prejudice to the publick
good, many of his Subjects having the benefit of renew
ing Leases at much easier Rates, than if those possessi
ons were in the hands of private men; not omitting the
discouragement which it will be to all learning and in
dustry when such eminent rewards shall be taken away,
which now lye open to the Children of meanest per
sons.

Yet his Majesty considering the great present di
stempers concerning Church-disciplin, and that the
Presbyterian government is now in practice, his Ma
jesty to eschew confusion as much as may be, and for the
satisfaction of his two Houses, is content that the said

Govern-

Government be legally permitted to stand, in the same condition it now is for 3 years; provided, that his Majesty and those of His judgment (or any other who cannot in Conscience submit thereunto) be not obliged to comply with the Presbyterial government, but have free practice of their own profession, without receiving any prejudice thereby; and that a free consultation and debate be had with the Divines at *Westminster* (twenty of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) wherby it may be determined by his Majesty and the two Houses, how the Church government after the said time shall be setled, (or sooner if differences may be agreed) as is most agreeable to the Word of God; with full liberty to all those who shall differ upon Conscientious grounds from that settlement; alwayes provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tollerate those of the popish profession, nor the exempting of any popish Recusant from the penalties of the Laws, or to tollerate the publick profession of Atheism or Blasphemy, contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, they having been received by, and had in reverence of all the Christian Churches, and more particularly by this of *England*, ever since the Reformation.

Next, the *Militia* being that right, which is inseparably and undoubtedly inherent in the Crown, by the Laws of this Nation & that which former Parliaments, as likewise this, hath acknowledged so to be, his Majesty cannot so much wrong that trust which the Laws of God and this Land have annexed to the Crown for the protection and security of His People, as to divest himself and Successors of the power of the Sword: yet to give an infallible evidence of His desire to secure the performance of such agreements as shall be made in order to a peace, his Majesty will consent to an Act of Parliament, that the whole power of the *Militia* both

by

by Sea and Land, for and during His whole reign, s
be ordered and disposed by the two Houses of Par
ment, or by such persons as they shal appoint, with po
ers limited for suppressing of Forces within this Kin
dom, to the disturbance of the publick peace, and
gainst forraign invasions; and that they shall ha
power during His said reign, to raise monies for t
purposes aforesaid; and that neither his Majesty th
now is, or any other (by any authority derived on
from Him) shall execute any of the said powers duri
his Majesties said reign, but such as shall act by the co
sent and approbation of the two Houses of Parliamen
Nevertheless his Majesty intends that all Patent
Commissions and other acts concerning the *Milit*
be made and acted as formerly; and that after his M
jesties reign, all the power of the *Militia* shall ret
entirely to the Crown, as it was in the times of Que
Elizabeth, and King *Iames* of blessed memory.

After this head of the *Militia*, the consideration
the arrears due to the Army is not improper to follo
for the payment whereof, and the ease of His peopl
his Majesty is willing to concur in any thing that can
done without the violation of His Conscience and H
nour. Wherefore if his two Houses shall consent to r
mit unto Him such benefit out of Sequestrations fro
Michaelmas last, and out of Compositions that shall
made before the concluding of the peace, and the a
rears of such as have been already made, the assista
of the Clergy, and the arrears of such Rents of h
owne Revenue as his two Houses shall not ha
received before the concluding of the peace, h
Majesty will undertake within the space of eig
teen moneths, the payment of 400000 pounds for
satisfaction of the Army: And if those means shall
be sufficient, his Majesty intends to give way to the
of forest Lands for that purpose, this being the pu

Debt which in his Majesties judgment is first to be satisfied; and for other publick debts already contracted upon Church lands or any other Ingagements, his Majesty will give his consent to such Act or Acts for raising of monies for payment thereof, as both Houses shall hereafter agree upon, so as they be equally laid, whereby His people (already too heavily burthened by these late distempers) may have no more pressures upon them than this absolute necessitie requires: And for the further securing of all fears, his Majesty will consent, that an Act of Parliament be passed for the disposing of the great Offices of State, and naming of privy Counsellours for the whole term of His reigne by the two Houses of Parliament, their Patents and Commissions being taken from his Majesty, and after to returne to the Crown, as is expressed in the Article of the *Militia*. For the Court of Wards and Liveries, his Majesty very well knows the consequence of taking that away, by returning of all Tenures into common Soccage, as well in point of Revenue to the Crown, as in the protection of many of his Subjects being Infants. Nevertheless if the continuance thereof seem grievous to his Subjects, rather than He will fail on his part in giving satisfaction, He will consent to an Act for taking of it away, so as a full recompence be setled upon his Majesty and his Successours in perpetuity, and that the arrears now due be reserved unto him towards the payment of the arrears of the Army.

And that the memory of these late distractions may be wholly wiped away, his Majesty will consent to an Act for the suppressing and making null of all Oathes, Declarations and Proclamations against both or either House of Parliament, and of all Indictments and other proceedings against persons for adhering unto them: And his Majesty proposeth, (as the best expedient

expedient to take away all seeds of future differences, that there be an Act of Oblivion to extend to al his subjects.

As for *Ireland*, the cessation there is long since determined, but for the future (all other things being fully agreed) his Majesty will give satisfaction to his two Houses concerning that kingdom.

And although his Majesty cannot consent in honour and justice to avoid all his own Grants and Acts passed under his great seal since the two and twentieth of May, 1642 or to the confirming of all the Acts and Grants passed under that made by the two Houses, yet his Majesty is confident, that upon perusall of particulars, He shall give full satisfaction to his two Houses, to what may reasonably be desired in that particular.

And now his Majesty conceives that by these His offers (which He is ready to make good upon the settlement of a peace) He hath clearly manifested His intentions to give full security and satisfaction to all Interests, for what can justly be desired in order to the future happinesse of his people. and for the perfecting of these concessions, as also for such other things as may be proposed by the two Houses, and for such just and reasonable demands, as his Majesty shall find necessary to propose on his part, He earnestly desires a personal Treaty at *London* with his two Houses, in honour freedom, and safety, it being in his judgment the most proper, and indeed, only means to a firm and setled peace, and impossible without it to reconcile former, or avoid future misunderstandings.

All these things being by Treaty perfected, his Majesty believes his Houses will think it reasonable, that the proposalls of the Army concerning the Succession of Parliaments and their due elections, should be taken into consideration.

As for what concerns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty will very readily apply himself to give all reasonable satisfaction, when the desires of the two Houses of Parliament on their behalf, or of the Commissioners of that Kingdom, or of both Joyned together, shall be made known unto Him.

C. R.

From the Isle of Wight *November* 17. 1647

For the Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore, to be communicated to the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, *and to the Commissioners of the Parliamen of* Scotland.

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4. *His Majesties Message of December* 6. 1647. *for an Answer to his last from* Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

HAd his Majesty thought it possible that His two Houses could be imployed in things of greater concernment than the peace of this miserable distracted Kingdom; He would have expected with more patience, their leisure in acknowledging the receipt of his Message of the 16 of November last. But since there is not in nature, any consideration preceding to that of Peace, his Maiesties constant tenderneſse of the welfare of his Subjects, hath such a prevalence with Him, that He cannot forbear the vehement prosecution of a personall treaty: which is, only so much the more desired by his Majesty, as it is superiour to all other means of peace. And truly, when his Majesty considers

siders the severall complaints He dayly hears from
parts of this Kingdon, That Trade is so decayed,
commodities so dear, and Taxes so insupportable, th
even naturall subsistence will instantly faile; His Maj
sty (to perform the trust reposed in Him) must u
His uttermost endeavours for peace, though He were t
have no share in the benefit of it. And hath not h
Majesty done His part for it, by devesting himselfe
so much power and authority, as by his last Messa
He hath promised to do, upon the concluding of t
whole peace? And hath He met with that acknowled
ment from his two Houses, which this great grace a
favour justly deserves? Surely the blame of this gre
retarding of peace must fall somewhere else, than on h
Majesty.

To conclude; if ye will but consider in how lim
time this necessary good work will be done, if you t
two Houses wil wait on his Majesty with same the reso
lutions for peace, as He will meet you, He no w
doubts, but that ye will willingly agree to this his M
jesties earnest desire of a personall Treaty, and speed
dily desire His presence amongst you: Where all thing
agreed on being digested into Acts (till when, it
most unreasonable for his Majesty or his two Houses t
desire each of other the least concession) this King
dom may at last enjoy the blessing of a long-wisht-f
peace.

Carisbrook-Castle, December 6. 1647.

For the Speaker of the House of Peers
pro tempore, *to be communicated,*
&c.

His Majesties Message and Answer to the foure Bills, and the Proposition presented to him at Carisbrook-Castle, before the Votes of No Addres. December 28. 1647.

C. R

THe necessity of complying with all engaged interests in these great distempers, for a perfect settlement of peace, his Majesty finds to be none of the least difficulties he hath met with since the time of His afflictions. Which is too visible, when at the same time, that the two Houses of the English Parliament do present to his Majesty severall Bills and Propositions for His consent, the Commissioners for *Scotland* do openly protest against them. So that were there nothing in the case, but the consideration of that difference, his Majesty cannot Imagine how to give such an Answer to what is now proposed, as thereby to promise himself his great end, *A perfect peace.* And when his Majesty further considers, how impossible it is (in the condition He now stands) to fulfil the desires of the two Houses; since the only antient and known wayes of passing Laws, are either by his Majesties personall assent in the House of Peers, or by Commission under His great Seal of *England*: He cannot but wonder at such stilings in the manner of addresse, which is now made unto Him; Vnlesse his two Houses intend, that his Majesty shall allow of a great Seal made without His Authority, before there be any consideration had thereupon in a Treaty. Which as it may hereafter hazard the security it self, so for the present, it seems very unreasonable to his Majesty.

And though his Majesty is willing to believe, that the intentions of very many in both Houses, in sending these Bills before a Treaty, was only to obtain a trust from Him

Him, and not to take any advantage by passing t
to force other things from Him, which are either aga
His Conscience or Honour: yet his Majesty believes
clear to all understandings, that these bills contai
(as they are now penned not only the divesting himse
of all Soveraingnty, and that without possibility of re
covering it, either to Him or His Successors, (except b
repeal of those Bils) but also the making his Concessio
guilty of the greatest pressures that can be made upo
the Subject, as in other particulars, so by giving an arb
trary and unlimited power to the two Houses for ever,
to raise and leavy forces for Land or Sea service, of wha
persons (without distinction or quality) and to wha
numbers they please. And likewise for the payment o
them, to leavy what monies, in such sort, and by such
wayes and means (and consequently upon the estat
of whatsoever persons) they shall think fit and appoin
Which is utterly inconsistent with the Liberty and Pro
pertie of the Subject, and his Majesties tru
in protecting them. So that if the Major part o
both Houses, shall think it necessary to put the rest o
the Propositions into Bills; his Majesty leaves all th
World to judg, how unsafe it would be for Him to con
sent thereunto. And if not, what a strange condition
(after the passing of these foure Bils) his Majesty and
all his Subjects would be cast into. And here his Maje
sty thinks it not unfit, to wish His two Houses to consi
der well the manner of their proceeding: That whe
his Majesty desires a personall Treaty with them for th
setling of a peace; they in answer, propose the very sub
ject matter of the most essentiall part thereof to be fir
granted. A thing which will be hardly credible to po
sterity. Wherfore his Majesty declares, That neither th
desire of being freed from this tedious and irksome con
dition of life his Majesty hath so long suffered, nor th
apprehension of what may befal him, in case his 2 Hous
sha

shall not afford him a personall Treaty, shall make him change his resolution, of not consenting to any Act, till the whole peace be concluded. Yet then He intends not onely to give just and reasonable satisfaction in the particulars presented to him; but also to make good all other Concessions mentioned in his Message of the 16 of November last. Which He thought would have produced better effects, than what He findes in the Bils and propositions now presented unto him.

And yet his Majesty cannot give over, but now again earnestly presseth for a personall Treaty (so passionately is He affected with the advantages which peace will bring to his Majesty and all his Subjects) of which He will not at all dispair, (there being no other visible way to obtain a well-grounded-peace.) However his Majesty is very much at ease within himself, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Christian and of a King; and will patiently wait the good pleasure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two Houses to consider their King, and to compassionate their fellow-Subjects miseries.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle *in the* Isle of Wight, *Decemb.* 28. 1647.

To the Speaker of the Lords House pro tempore, *to be communicated to the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of* England *at* Westminster, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland.

36. *His Majesties Message of August* 10. 1648. *His Answer to the Votes for a Treaty at the* Isle of Wight.

From Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

IF the peace of My Dominions were not much d rer to Me, than any particular interest whatsoev I had too much reason to take notice of the seve Votes which passed against Me, and the sad cond on I have been in now above these seven mont But since you My two Houses of Parliament have pened (as it seems to Me) a fair beginning to a h py peace, I shall heartily apply My self thereun and to that end, I will as clearly and shortly as I m set you down those things which I conceive neces to this blessed work, so that We together may move all impediments, that may hinder a happy c clusion of this Treaty, which with all cheerfulnesse embrace.

And to this wished end, your selves have laid excellent grounds; For what can I reasonably pect more, than to Treat with Honour, Freedo and Safety, upon such Propositions as you have shall present unto Me, and such as I shall make you? But withall remember, that it is the defi on, not names of things which make them rig known; And that without means to perform, Proposition can take effect: And truly My pr condition is such, that I can no more treat, th blinde man judge of colours, or one run a race who both his feet fast tied together; wherefore My fir cessary demand is,

That you will recall all such Votes and Orders

which people are frighted from coming, writing, or speaking freely to Me.

Next, that such men of all professions, whom I shall send for, as of necessary use to Me in this Treaty, may be admitted to wait upon Me. In a word, that I may be in the same state of freedom I was in when I was last at *Hampton-Court*. And indeed lesse cannot in any reasonable measure make good those offers which you have made Me by your Votes; for how can I treat with honour, so long as people are terrified with Votes and Orders against coming to speak, or write to Me? and am I honorably treated, so long as there is none about me (except a Barber who came now with the Commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon Me, or with Freedom, (untill I may call such unto Me of whose services I shall have use in so great and difficult work?) And for Safety (I speak not of my Person, having no apprehension on that way) how can I judge to make a safe and well-grounded peace, untill I may know (without disguise) the true present state of all My Dominions, and particularly of all those whose Interests are necessarily concerned in the peace of these Kingdoms? which leads Me naturally to the last necessary demand I shall make for the bringing of this Treaty to a happy end, which is;

That you alone, or you and I joyntly, doe invite the Scots to send some persons authorized by them to treat upon such propositions as they shall make; for certainly the publick and necessary Interesse they have in this present settlement is so clearly plain to all the World, that I have no body will deny the necessity of their concurrence in this Treaty, in Order to a durable peace. Therefore I will onely say, that as I am King of both Nations, so I will yeeld to none in either Kingdome in being truly and zealously affected for the good and honour of both: my resolution being never to be par-

tial for either, to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place (because I conceive it to be rather a circumstantial than reall part of this Treaty, I shall not much insist upon it) I name *Newport* in this Isle, yet the fervent zeal I have that a speedy end be put to these unhappy distractions, doth force Me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great losse of time it will be to treat so far from the body of My two Houses, when every small debate (of which doubtlesse there will be many) must be transmitted to *Westminster* before it be concluded: And really I think (though to some it may seem a Paradox) that peoples mindes will be much more apt to settle, seeing me treat in or near *London*, then in this Isle, because so long as I am here it will never be believed by many, that I am really free; as before this Treaty begin I expect to be; And I leave and recommend this point to your serious consideration: And thus I have not only fully accepted of the Treaty, which you have proposed to Me by your vote of the third of this moneth; but also given it all the furtherance that lies in Me, by demanding the necessary means, for the effectuall performance thereof; All which are so necessarily implyed by, though not particularly mentioned in your Votes, as I can no wayes doubt of your ready complyance with Me herein: I have now no more to say, but to conjure you, by all that is dear to Christians, honest Men, or good Patriots that ye will make all the expedition possible to begin this happy work, by hasting down your Commissioners fully authorized and well instructed, and by enabling Me (as I have shewed you) to treat; praying the God of peace to bless our endeavours, that all My Dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well grounded peace.

Charls R.

For the Speaker of the Lords House
pro tempore, &c.

His Majesties Message of August 28. 1648. *for some of His Councell and others to attend Him at the Treaty in the* Isle of Wight.

From Carisbrook-Castle.

MY Lord, and Master Speaker, I have received your Letter of the 25 of this moneth, with the Votes that you sent Me, which though they are not so full as I could have wished, for the perfecting of a Treaty; yet because I conceive by what you have done, that I am in some measure fit to begin one (such is my unceſſant and earnest desire, to give a peace to these My now distracted Kingdoms, as I accept the Treaty;) and therefore desire that such five Lords and ten Commons, as My two Houses shall appoint, be speedily sent, fully authorized and instructed to treat with Me, not doubting, but what is now wanting, will at Our meeting upon debate be fully supplyed, not onely to the furtherance of this Treaty, but also of the consummating of a safe and welgrounded peace.

So I rest, Your good Friend,

CHARLS R.

Here inclosed is a List of the names of such persons as I desire.

Gentlemen of My Bed-chamber, Duke Richmond, Marques Hartford, Earl Lindsey, Earl Southampton. *Grooms of My Bed-chamber*, George Kirke, James Leyiston, Henry Murry, Jo. Ashburnham, William Leg, Thomas Davise, *Barber*. *Pages of My back-stairs* Hugh Hin, Humphrey Rogers, William Levett. Rives *Yeoman of My Robes*: *Querries*, *with* 4 *or* 5 *of My footmen*,

as they finde fittest to wait. Sir Edward Sydenh
Robert Terwit, Io. Housden, Mistresse Wheel
Landresse, with such Maids as she shall chooose. Pars
A Groom of the presence. Sir Fulke Grevel, Capt
Titus, Captain Burrowes, Mr. Crellet, Hanst
Abraham Douset, Firebrasse. *To wait as they*
or as I shall appoint them. Bishop of London, Bisho
Sarum, Doctor Sheldon, Doctor Hamond, Doc
Oldsworth, Doctor Sanderson, Doctor Turner, Doc
Heywood. *Lawyers,* Sir Thomas Gardner, S
Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Robert Holborn, M. Jeffe
Palmer, Mr. Thomas Cooke, Mr. James Vaugha
Clerks and Writers, Sir Edward Walker, Mr. Phil
Warwick, Nicholas Oudart, Charles Whittaker. *T*
make ready the house for Treaty. Peter Newc
Clem. Kinersley.

I desire in order to one of your Votes, that y
would send Me a free passe for *Parsons*, one of t
Grooms of My presence Chamber to goe into *Scotland*
that you would immediately send him to M:, to receiv
the dispatch thither.

For the Earl of Manchester, *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore, *and* William Lenthal, *Speaker of House of Commons.*

43. *His Majesties Message concerning the time of t*
Treaty, and for two Doctors of the Civill Law to a
tend his Majesty. Septemb. 7. 1648.
Carisbrook-Castle.

My Lord and Mr. Speaker,

I Have received your Letter of the second of this mo
neth, containing the names of those who are t
tre

t with Me, and though they doe not come at the
me appointed, I shall not wonder at first, judging it
oo short, in respect of my two Houses, not of My
elf, so that I did imagine it could not be kept, (as I
hen commanded Sir *Peter Killegrew* to tell you by
word of mouth) and therefore it shall be far from Me to
ake exceptions for their having elapsed the appointed
ime, for God forbid that either My two Houses or I
hould carp at circumstances, to give the least impedi-
ent to this Treaty, much lesse to hinder the happy fi-
ishing of it: I say this the rather, because I know not
ow it is possible (in this I shall wish to be deceived)
hat in forty dayes Treaty, the many distractions of these
Kingdoms can be setled; and if so, it were more than
trange, that time enough should not be given for the
erfecting of this most great and good work, which as
will not believe can be stuck on by the two Houses, so
am sure it shall never be, by

Your good Friend,

Carisbrook 7 *Sept.*
1648.

Charls R.

I think fit to tell you, because I believe in this Trea-
y there will be need of Civil Lawyers, I have sent for
my Advocate *Rives* and D. *Duck*.

For the Lord Hunsdon, *Speaker of the House of Peers* pro tempore, *and* William Lenthall *Speaker of the House of Commons.*

39. *His Majesties Message for four Bishops and Doctors of Divinity to attend his Majesty, Novemb.* 2. 1648. Newport.

The names of the Bishops and Doctors desired by His Majesty to be sent to him, Novemb. 2. 1648. *inclosed in a Letter from one of the Commissioners for the Parliament.*

C. R.

THe Bishop of *Armath*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, Dr. *Fearne*, Dr. *Morley*.

40. *His Majesties Message of Septemb.* 29. 1648. containing *His Concessions.* Newport.

His Majesty did use many earnest endeavours for a personall Treaty, Which He hoped might have been obtained at *Westminster*; between Him and His two Houses of Parliament immediately; yet they having made choice of this way by you their Commissioners, His Majesty did gladly and cheerfully accept thereof in this place, as a fit meanes to begin Treaty for a peace, which might put an end to His own sad condition, and the miseries of His Kingdom: For an entrance whereunto, His Majestie has already expressed His consent to the first Proposition: But finding you are limited by Instruction which you have no warrant to communicate to Him; And having cause by your paper of the 20 this present, to believe that you have no power to mit, or alter any thing, though He shall give you reasons as may satisfie you so to doe, without transting the papers to the two Houses at a far distance

where His Majesties reasons, expressions, and offers upon debate cannot be fully represented, and from whence their answers cannot be returned without much waste of the time alloted for the Treaty here: And having lately received another paper concerning the Church, containing in it self many particulars of great importance, and referring to divers ordinances, Articles of Religion, and other things (11 or 12 in number) of great length, and some of them very new, and never before presented to His Majesty; The due consideration whereof will take up much time, and require His Majesties presence with His two Houses before a full resolution can well be had in matters of so high consequence; to the end therefore that the good work now in hand may (by Gods blessing) proceed more speedily and effectually to an happy conclusion; and that his two Houses of Parliament may at present have further security, and an earnest of future satisfaction; His Majesty upon consideration had of yours, makes these propositions following.

Concerning the Church.

HIs Majesty will consent that the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* be confirmed for three years by Act of Parliament.

And will by Act of Parliament confirm for three years the Directory for the publick worship of God in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And will likewise confirm for three years by Act of Parliament the form of Church Government which ye have presented to him, to be used for the Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, provided, that His Majesty, and those of His judgement, or any others who cannot in conscience submit thereunto, be not in the mean time obliged to comply with the same Government or Form or Worship, but have

have free practice of their owne profession. And that a free consultation and debate be had with the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster* in the mean time (20 of his Majesties nomination being added unto them) whereby it may be determined by his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament, how the said Church Government and form of publick worship after the said time may be setled, or sooner, if differences may be agreed. And how also Reformation of Religion may be setled within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*. And the Articles of Christian Religion now delivered to Him may in like manner be then considered of and determined, and care taken for the ease of tender consciences.

And concerning the Bishops lands and revenues, his Majesty considering that during these troublesome times divers of His Subjects have made contracts and purchases, and divers have disbursed great sums of moneys upon security and engagement of those Lands; his Majesty for their satisfaction, will consent to an Act or Acts of Parliament, whereby legall estates for lives or for years (at their choice) not exceeding 99 years shall be made of those lands towards the satisfaction of the said Purchasers, Contractors, and others to whom they are engaged, at the old Rents, or some other moderate Rent, whereby they may receive satisfaction.

And in case such Lease shall not satisfie, his Majesty will propound and consent to some other way for their further satisfaction.

Provided that the propriety and inheritance of those Lands may still remaine and continue to the Church and Church-men respectively, according to the pious intentions of the Donors and Founders thereof: And the rent that shall be reserved to be for their maintenance.

His

His Majesty will give His Royall assent for the better observation of the Lords day; For suppressing of innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the worship of God, and for the better advancement of the preaching of Gods holy Word in all parts of his Kingdom. And to an Act against enjoying pluralities of Benefices by Spirituall persons, and Non-residency. And to an Act for regulating and reforming both Universities, and the Colleges of *Westminster*, *Winchester*, and *Eaton*.

His Majesty will consent to an Act for the better discovery and speedy conviction of Popish Recusants, as is desired in your propositions; And also to an Act for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion.

As also to an Act for the true levying of the penalties against Papists, to be levied and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, and as is proposed on His Majesties behalf.

And also to an Act to prevent the practises of Papists against the State. And for putting the Laws in execution. And for a stricter course to prevent hearing and saying of Masse.

But, as to the Covenant, His Majesty is not yet therein satisfied, that He can either signe or swear it, or consent to impose it on the consciences of others. Nor doth conceive it proper or usefull at this time to be insisted on.

Touching the *Militia*, His Maiestie conceives that your Proposition demands a far larger power over the persons and estates of His Subjects, than hath ever hitherto been warranted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm: yet considering the present distractions require more, and trusting in His two Houses of Parliament that they will make no further use of the power therein mentioned, after the present distem-

pers

pers settled, than shall be agreeable to the legall
cise thereof in times past, or just necessity shall
quire, His Majesty will consent to an Act of Pa
ment,

That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament
England now assembled, or hereafter to be assembl
or such as they shall appoint during the space of
years, shall arm, train, and discipline, or cause to
armed, trained, or disciplined, all the Forces of
Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Domi
of *Wales*, the Isles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the to
of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raised both for
and Land service; and shall from time to time dur
the space of ten years raise, levy, arm, train and
pline, or cause to be raised, levied, armed, tra
and disciplined any other forces for Land and Sea
vice in the Kingdoms, Dominions, and places a
said, as in their judgments they shall from tim
time during the said space of ten years think fit to
point, and that neither the King, his Heirs or Succe
or any other but such as shall act by the author
or approbation of the said Lords and Commons,
during the said space of ten years exercise any of
powers aforesaid.

That monies be raised and levied for the ma
nance and use the said Forces for Land service,
of the Navy and Forces for Sea service, in such
and by such wayes and means as the said Lords
Commons shall from time to time during the
space of ten years think fit and appoint, and no
therwise.

That all the said Forces both for Land and Sea
vice so raised or levied, or to be raised or levied;
also the Admiralty and Navy shall from time to ti
ring the said space of ten years be imployed, manag
dered and disposed by the Lords and Commons in

, and by such wayes and means as they shall think fit d appoint, and not otherwise.

And the said Lords and Commons, or such as they shall ppoint, during the said space of ten years shall have ower

TO suppresse all Forces raised, or to be raised, without authority and consent of the said Lords & Commons; to the disturbance of the publick peace of the ingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, e Isles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To suppress any Forraign Forces who shall invade, endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *reland*, Dominions of *VVales*, the Isles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Towne of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any f them.

And after the expiration of the said ten years, neither he King, his Heirs or Successors, or any person or ersons by colour or pretence of any Commission, power, deputation, or authority to be derived from the King, his Heirs or Successours, or any of them, shall without the consent of the said Lords and Commons, raise, arm, train, discipline, imploy order, manage, disband, or dispose any the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *VVales*, Isles of *Gerneſey* and *Gerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*. Nor exercise any of the said powers or authorities herein before mentioned, and expressed to be during the space of ten years in the said Lords and Commons: Nor doe any Act, or any thing concerning the execution of the said powers or authorities, or any of them, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons first had and obtained.

And with the same Proviso's for saving the ordinary legall power of Officers of Justice, not being Milita-

ry

ry Officers, as is set down in your propositions.

And with a Declaration, That if any persons shall be gathered and assembled together, in a warlike manner, or otherwise, to the number of thirty persons and shall not forthwith disperse themselves, being required thereto by the said Lords and Commons, or command from them, or any by them, especially authorized for that purpose; then such person or persons not so dispersing themselves, shall be guilty, and incur the pains of high Treason, being first declared guilty of such offence, by the said Lords and Commons: any Commission under the Great Seal, or other Warrant to the contrary, notwithstanding. And he or they that shall so offend herein to be uncapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors.

And likewise that it be provided that the City of *London* shall have and enjoy all their rights, liberties, &c. in raising and imploying the Forces of that City, in such sort as is mentioned in the said proposition.

With these proviso's following to be inserted in the said Act.

1. THat none be compelled to serve in the war against their wills, but in case of coming in of strange enemies into this Kingdom.

And that the powers above mentioned, as concerning the Land Forces, other than for keeping up and maintenance of Forts, and Garrisons, and the keeping up, maintaining and pay of this present Army, so long as it shall be thought fit by both Houses of Parliament, be exercised to no other purposes than for the suppressing of Forces raised or to be raised, without authority and consent of the said Lords and Commons as aforesaid, or for suppressing of any Forrain Forces which shal invade or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms, Dominions or places aforesaid.

And

And that the monyes be raised by generall and equal Taxations, saving that Tonnage and Poundage, and such Imposts as have been applyed to the Navy, be raised as hath been usuall.

And that all Patents, Commissions, and other Acts concerning the premises be made and acted in his Majesties name by Warrant, signified by the Lords and Commons, or such others as they shall authorise for that purpose.

If it shall be made satisfactory to His two Houses to have the Militia, and powers thereupon depending, during the whole time of his Majesties reign, rather than for the space of ten years, His Majesty gives them the election.

TOuching *Ireland*, His Majesty having in the two preceding propositions given His consent concerning the Church, and the *Militia* there in all things, as in *England*: As to all other matters relating to the Kingdom, after advice with his two Houses, he will leave it to their determination, and give his consent accordingly, as is herein hereafter expressed.

Touching publick debts, his Majesty will give His consent to such an Act, for raising of monies by generall and equall Taxations, for the payment and satisfying the Arrears of the Army, publick debts and engagements of the Kingdom, as shall be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament, and shall be audited and ascertained by them, or such persons as they shall appoint, within the space of twelve moneths, after the passing of an Act for the same.

His Majesty will consent to an Act, that during the said space of ten years the Lord Chancellour, or Lord Keeper, Commissioners of the Great Seal, or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, Chancellour of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches,

and

and Barons of the Exchequer of *England*, be nomi-
ted by both Houses of the Parliament of *England* t
continue *quam diu se bene gesserint*: And in the inter-
vals of Parliament, by such others as they shall autho-
rize for that purpose.

His Majesty will consent that the *Militia* of th
City of *London* and Liberties thereof, during the spac
of ten years, may be in the ordering and governmen
of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in th
Common-Councel assembled, or such as they shal
from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Mayo
and Sheriffs for the time being to be three) to be im-
ployed and directed from time to time, during th
said space of ten years, in such manner as shall be a-
greed upon, and appointed by both Houses of Parli-
ment; And that no Citizen of the City of *London*,
nor any of the Officers of the said City shall be draw
forth, or compelled to go out of the said City or Li-
berties thereof, for Military service, without their
own free consent.

That an Act be passed for granting and confirming
the Charters, Customes, Liberties, and Franchises of
the City of *London*, notwithstanding any *Non user*,
Misuser or *Abuser*.

And that during the said ten years, the Tower of
London may be in the government of the City of
London, and the Cheif Officer and Governour from
time to time during the said space to be nominated
and removeable by the Common councel, as are desir-
in your propositious.

His Majesty having thus far expressed his consen
for the present satisfaction and security of His two
Houses of Parliament, and those that have adher
unto them, touching your four first propositions, a
other the particulars before specified: As to all th
rest of your propositions delivered to him at *Ha*
Co

Court, (not referring to those heads) and to that of the Court of Wards since delivered; as also to the remaining Propositions concerning *Ireland*; His Majesty desires onely when he shall come to *Westminster* Personally to advise with His two Houses, and to deliver His opinion, and the reasons of it; which being done, He will leave the whole matter of those remaining Propositions to the determination of His two Houses, which shall prevaile with Him for His consent accordingly.

And His Majesty doth (for His own particular) onely propose that He may have Liberty to repair forthwith to *Westminster*, and be restored to a condition of absolute freedome and safety, (a thing which He shall never deny to any of His Subjects,) and to the possession of His Lands and Revenues; and that an Act of Oblivion, and Indempnity may passe, to extend to all persons, for all matters relating to the late unhappy differences: which being agreed by His two Houss of Parliament, His Majesty will be ready to make these His Concessions binding, by giving them the force of Lawes by His Royall assent.

His Majesties Declaration to all His People Jan. 18. 1647. *from* Carisbrook-Castle, *after the Votes of*

No Addresse.

AM I thus laid aside, and must I not speak for My self? No! I will speak, and that to all My people, (which I would have rather done, by the way of My two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publick order, neither to make addresses to, or receive Messages from me,) and who but you can be Judge of the differences betwixt Me, and My two Houses? I know none else; for I am sure, you it is, who will enjoy the happinesse, or feel the misery, of

good or ill Government; and we all pretend wh
should run fastest to serve you; without having a re
gard (at least in the first place) to particular interest
And therefore I desire you to consider the state I am
and have been in, this long time, and whether my a
ctions have more tended to the publick, or My ow
particular good; for whosoever will look upon M
barely as I am a Man, without that liberty (which th
meanest of My Subjects enjoyes) of going whethe
and conversing with whom I will: as a Husband a
Father, without the comfort of My Wife and childre
or lastly, as a King, without the least shew of autho
ty or power, to protect My distressed Subjects; m
conclude Me, not onely void of all naturall Affectio
but also to want common understanding; if I shou
not most cheerfully embrace the readiest way, to th
settlement of these distracted Kingdoms: As also o
the other side, do but consider the form and draug
of the Bills lately presented unto Mee, and as th
are the conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude
that the same spirit which hath still been able to fr
strate all my sincere and constant endeavours f
peace, hath had a powerfull influence on his Messag
for though I was ready to grant the substance, a
comply with what they seem to desire; yet as th
had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, wit
out deeply wounding my conscience and honou
and betraying the trust reposed in me, by aban
ning my people to the Arbitrary and unlim
power of the two Houses for ever, for the levy
and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without
stinction of quality, or limitation for money ca
And if I could have passed them in tearmes; how
heard of a condition were it for a Treaty, to grant
fore hand the most considerable part of the Sub
matter? How ineffectuall were that debate like
pro

wherein the most potent party had nothing of ...ment left to aske, and the other nothing more to ...ve? So consequently, how hopelesse of mutuall ...mplyance? Without which, a settlement is impos...ble: Besides, if after my concessions, the two Hou...s should insist on those things, from which I cannot ...part; how desperate would the condition of these ...ingdoms be, when the most proper and approved ...medy should become ineffectuall? Being therefore ...lly resolved that I could neither in conscience, ho...our, or prudence, passe those four Bils; I only ...deavour'd to make the Reasons and Justice of my ...enyall appear to all the World; as they doe to me, ...ending to give as little dis-satisfaction to the two ...ouses of Parliament, (without betraying my own ...use) as the matter would beare: I was desirous to ...ve my answer, of the 28 of December last, to the ...mmissioners sealed, (as I had done others hereto...e, and sometimes at the desire of the Commissio...s, chiefly, because when my Messages or Answers ...re publickly known, before they were read in the ...ouses; prejudiciall interpretations were forced on ...em, much differing, and sometimes contrary to my ...eaning. For example, my answer from *Hampton-...urt*, was accused of dividing the two Nations, be...use I promised to give satisfaction to the *Scots*, in ...things concerning that Kingdome: And this last ...as in a contrary sense, by making me intend to ...ject *Scotland* in the Laws of this Kingdom, (then ...ich nothing was, nor is, further from my thoughts) ...self I took Notice of the *Scots* Commissioners ...cting against the Bills and propositions, as con...ry to the interests and engagements of the two ...ingdoms: indeed, if I had not mentioned their ...ame; an Objection, not without some probability, ...ight have been made against me, both in respect

the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill for the *Militia*, and in severall other Propositions; and my silence might, with some justice, have seemed to approve of it: But the Commissioners refusing to receive my answer sealed, I (upon the engagement of their, and the Governours Honour, that no other should be made, or notice taken of it, then as if it had not bin seen) read and delivered it open unto them. Whereupon, what hath since passed, either by the Governour, in discharging most of my servants, doubling the Guards, and restraining me of my former Liberty, (and all this, as himselfe confest, meerly out of His own dislike of my answer, notwithstanding His beforesaid engagment) or afterwards, by the two Houses, (as the Governour affirms) in confining me within the circuit of this Castle, I appeale to God and the World, whether my said Answer deserved the reply of such proceedings: besides the unlawfulness for Subjects to imprison their King: That, by the permission of Almighty God, I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine, so I am not without hope, but that the same God, wil, in due time convert these afflictions into my advantage: in the mean time I am confident to bear these crosses with patience and equality of mind: but by what means or occasion I am come to this Relapse in my affairs I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider, that I have sacrifised to my two Houses of Parliament for the Peace of the Kingdom, all, but what is much more dear to me than my Life, my Conscience and Honour, desiring nothing more than to perform it in the most proper and naturall way, A Perfect Treatie. But that which makes me most at a losse is the remembring my signall compliance with their humors, and their interests; and of what importance my complyance was to them, and their often repeated

Profes-

rofessions and Ingagements, for my just Rights, n generall, at *Newmarket* and *S Albans*; and their rticular explanation of those generals, by their oted and Re-voted Proposals; which I had reason o understand should be the uttermost extremitie ould be expected from me, and that, in some things erein, I should be eased; (herein appealing to the onsciences of some of the chiefest Officers in the rmy, if what I have said be not punctually true) d how I have failed of their expectations, and my rofessions to them, I challenge them and the whole orld to produce the least colour of Reason. And w I would know, what is it that is desired: Is it ace? I have shewed the way (being both willing, d desirous to performe my part in it) which is, a just mplyance with all chief interests: Is it Plenty and ppinesse? they are the inseparable effects of peace: it security? I, who wish that all men would forgive d forget like Me, have offered the *Militia* for my e: Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it, most ready to give: Is it the right administration justice? Officers of trust are commited to the choice my two Houses of Parliament: Is it frequent Parments? I have legally, fully concurred therewith: it the arrears of the Army? Vpon a settlement, y will certainely be paied with much ease; but be-, there will be found much difficulty, if not impoity in it.

Thus all the world cannot but see my reall and earied endeavours for peace, the which (by Grace of God) I shall never repent me of, nor be slackned in, notwithstanding my past, pre- or future sufferings; but if I may not be heard, very one judge, who it is that obstructs the good ould or might do: What is it that men are afraid from me? It cannot be Reason, (at least,

none will declare themselves so unreasonable, confesse it) and it can lesse be, impertinent or reasonable discourses; for thereby, peradven I might more justifie this my Restraint, then Causers themselves can do; so that, of all wor yet this is the greatest to me: but it may be gathered how those men intend to govern, have used me thus: and if it be my hard Fat fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdom shall not blush for my selfe, but much lamen future miseries of my People; the which I still pray to God to avert; what ever be of Me. C. R.

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2. *His Majesties Declaration, concerning the Trea and His dislike of the Armies proceedings, deliver by His Majesty to one of His Servants at His departure from the Isle of* Wight, *commanded to be published for satisfaction of all His Subjects.* Anno 1648.

WHen large pretences prove but the sha of week performance, then the greatest bours produce the smallest effects: and when a od is put to a worke of great concernment, all ears do (as it were) hunger till they are satisfi their expectations. Hath not this distracted N groaned a long time under the burden of Ty and oppression? and hath not all the blood that been spilt these seven years been cast upon my who am the greatest sufferer, though the leas And was it not requisite to endeavour the sto of that flux, which, if not stopt, will bring an lute distruction to this Nation? And what speedy way was there to consummate those di ons then by a *personall Treaty*, being agreed up

My two Houses of Parliament, and condiscend to
y Me? And I might declare, that I conceive it had
een the best physick, had not the operation been
indred by the interposition of this imperious Ar-
y who were so audacious as to stile me in their un-
aralel'd Remonstrance, *their capital enemy*; but let
e World judge, whether mine indeavours have not
en attended with reality in this late Treaty; and
hether I was not as ready to grant, as they were to
k, and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that
rsue their own ambitious ends more than the wel-
re of a miserable Land. Were not the dying hearts
my poor distressed people much revived with the
opes of a happinesse from this Treaty? and how
ddenly are they frustrated in their expectations!
ave not I formerly been condemned for yeelding
o little to My two Houses of Parliament, and shall
now be condemned for yeelding too much? Have
not formerly been imprisoned for making war, and
all I now be condemned for making peace? Have
not formerly ruled like a KING, and shall I now be
led like a Slave? Have I not formerly enjoyed the
ciety of my dear Wife and Children in peace and
etnesse, and shall I now neither enjoy them, nor
ace? Have not My Subjects formerly obeyed Me,
d shall I now be obedient to My Subjects? Have I
been condemned for Evill Counsellers, and shall
ow be condemned for having no Counsell but
d? These are unutterable miseries, that the more
ndeavour for peace, the lesse My endeavours are
ected: and how shall I know hereafter what to
; when your selves know not what to ask? I re-
to your consciences, whether I have not satisfi-
your desires in every particular since this Treaty;
you finde I have not, then let Me bear the burden
d fault: but if I have given you ample satisfacti-

on (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to
dicate Me from the fury of those whose thoughts
fill'd with blood: though they pretend zeal, yet t
are but Wolves in Sheeps cloathing.

I must further declare, that I conceive there
nothing can more obstruct the long-hoped
peace of this Nation, than the illegall proceedings
them that presume from Servants to become Mas
and labour to bring in Democracy, and to abo
Monarchy. Needs must the totall alteration of f
damentals be, not onely destructive to others, but
conclusion to themselves: for they that endeav
to rule by the sword, shall at last fall by it; for
on is the Mother of Ruine: and it is the humour
those who are of this Weathercock-like disposi
to love nothing but mutabilities, neither will t
please them but onely *pro tempore*, for the too m
variety doth but confound the senses, and m
them still hate one folly, and fall in love with a
ther.

Time is the best cure for Faction; for it will
length (like a spreading leprosie) infect the wh
body of the Kingdom, and make it so odious, that
last they will hate themselves for love of that, a
like the Fish, for love of the bait, be catch'd w
the hook.

I once more declare to all My loving Subjects, a
God knows whether or no this may be My last, t
I have earnestly laboured for peace, and that
thoughts were sincere and absolute, without any
nister ends, and there was nothing left undone
Me that My conscience would permit Me to to
And I call God to witnesse that I do firmly con
that the interposition of the Army (that cloud of
lice) hath altogether eclipsed the glory of that
wh ch began againe to shine in this Land. And
We

ould judge whether it be expedient for an Army
contradict the Votes of a Kingdom, endeavouring,
pretending for Laws and Liberties, to subvert
both. Such actions as these must produce strange
consequences, and set open the flood-gates of ruin
overflow this Kingdom in a moment. Had this
Treaty been onely Mine own seeking, then they
might have had fairer pretences to have stopt the
course of it; but I being importun'd by My two Hou-
es, and they by most part of the Kingdom, could not
et with a great deal of alacrity concur with them in
heir desires, for the performance of so commodious
work: and I hope by this time that the hearts and
es of My people are opened so much that they
ainly discover who are the undermi. ers of this
reaty.

For mine own part, I here protest before the face
Heaven, that mine own afflictions (though they
ed no addition) afflict Me not so much as my peo-
les sufferings: for, I know what to trust to already,
nd they know not: God comfort both them and Me,
d proportion our patience to our sufferings!

And when the malice of mine Enemies is spun out
the smallest thred, let them know, that I will, by
e grace of God, be as contented to suffer, as they
e active to advance My sufferings: and Mine own
l tels Me, that the time will come, when the very
onds shall drop down vengeance upon the heads of
ose that barricado themselvs against the proceedings
peace: for, if God hath proclamed a blessing to the
ace-makers, needs must the peace-breakers draw
wn curses upon their heads.

I thank My God I have armed My self against their
y: and now let the arrows of their envy flie at Me,
e a brest to receive them, and a heart possest with
ce to sustain them: for God is My Rock and my
shield

shield; therefore I will not fear what man can do unto Me. I will expect the worst, and if any thing happen beyond My expectation, I will give God the Glory: for vain is the help of man.

Letters written by his MAJESTY to severall Persons since the beginning of this Parliament, heretofore published at severall times, and now collected into one body.

Together with those intercepted Letters published by the Parliament, before which is prefixed his Majesties Letter to Secretary *Nicholas* concerning the Publishing of them; and part of one of his Majesties Declarations concerning the same:

1. *To the House of Peers about the reprieving of the Earl of* Strafford, *sent by the* Prince, *May* 11. 1641. *from White-hall.*

My Lords,

I Did yesterday satisfie the justice of the Kingdom by passing the Bill of attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*; but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a King as Justice, I desire at this time in some measure to shew, that, likewise by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfill the naturall course of his life in close imprisonment; yet so, that if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer directly, or indirectly to meddle in any sort of publick businesse, especially with me, either by Message, or Letter, it shall cost him his life without further processe. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of My people, will be an unspeakable contentment to Me.

To which end, as in the first place, I by this Letter do earnestly desire your approbation, and to endear

it the more, have chosen him to carry it, that of all your House is most dear unto Me. So I desire that by a conference, you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment: likewise assuring you, that the exercise of mercy is no more pleasing to Me, than to see both Houses of Parliament consent for My sake, that I should moderate the severity of the Law, in so important a case.

I will not say that your complying with Me, in this My intended mercy, shall make Me more willing, but certainly it will make Me more cheerfull in granting your just grievances. But if no lesse than his life can satisfie My people, I must say *fiat justitia*. This againe recommending the consideration of My intentions to you, I rest.

Whitehall May 11. 1641.

Your unalterable and affectionate friend,
Charls R.

If he must dye, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

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2. *To the Lord Keeper, about Mr. Attourney Generall, March* 4. 1641. *From* Royston.

C. R.

RIght trusty and well beloved Councellour, We greet you well, and have thought good hereby to certifie that we did the third of Ianuary last, deliver to our Attourney certain Articles of Accusation ingrossed in *paper*, a copy whereof We have sent here enclosed; and did then command him in Our Name, to acquaint Our House of Peers, that divers great and treasonable designs and practises against Vs and the State had come to Our knowledge for which We commanded him, in Our Name to accuse the six persons in the said paper mentioned of High Treason, and other

other high misdemeanours by delivering the paper to Our said House, and to desire to have it read, and further, to desire in Our Name, that a select Committee of Lords might be appointed to take the examinations of such Witnesses as We would produce, and as formerly hath been done in cases of like nature, according to the justice of the House, and the Committee to be under a command of Secrecy as formerly, and further in our name to ask liberty, to adde and alter if there should be cause: We do further declare that Our said Attorney, did not advise or contrive the said Articles, nor had any thing to do with, or in advising any breach of privilege that followed after. And for what he did in obedience to Our commands, We conceive he was bound by oath, and the duty of his place, and by the trust by Vs reposed in him so to do: And had he refused to obey Vs herein, We would have questioned him for breach of Oath, Duty, and Trust.

But now having declared, that We find cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the Persons accused, We have commanded him to proceed no further therein, nor to produce nor discover any proof concerning the same.

Given at Royston *March* 4. 1641.

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3. *To the Lord Keeper, about the Lord Admirall, March* 21. 1642. *From* York.

RIght trusty and well beloved Counsellour, We greet you well, we wonder both at the forme and matter of that inclosed paper, ye sent Vs (in the name of both Houses of Parliament, in yours of the 28 of March) it being neither by way of Petition, Declaration, or Letter; and for the matter We believe it

it is the first time that the Houses of Parliament have taken upon them the nomination, or recommendation of the chief Sea-commander; but it adds to the wonder, that Sir *John Pennington*, being already appointed by Vs for that service, upon the recommendation of our Admirall (which is so well known, that none can be ignorant of it) and no fault so much as alleged against him, another should be recommended to Vs: Therefore Our resolution upon this point is, that We will not alter him, whom we have already appointed to command this years Fleet, whose every way sufficiency is so universally known, the which We are confident Our Admirall (if there shall be occasion) will make most evident, (against whose testimony We suppose Our Parliament will not except.) And though there were yet none appointed, or the said Sir *John* (through some accident) not able to perform the service yet the men of that profession are are so well known to Vs (besides many other reasons) that (Our Admirall excepted becaus of his place) recommendations of that kind would not be acceptable to Vs.

Given at Our Court at York, *March* 31. 1642.

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4. *To the Mayor of* Hull *Aprill* 25. 1645. *From* York.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well, Whereas We have been long sensible of the just complaints and great burdens of Our Subjects in these Northern parts, by occasion of the Garrison in Our Town of *Hull*; And whereas We were upon Friday the 22 of this Moneth Petitioned by divers of the Gentry, and others, inhabitants of this County, That the munition at *Hull* might remain in the Magazine there, for the Security of Our person, and of all these Northern parts, their fear being much grounded

grounded upon the Parliaments relations of Forr
Invasions: Vpon which, the more to expresse Our
care of Our peoples safety, We did Our selfe go in per-
son to that Our Town, that upon Our own view, We
might consult what proportion of it might be fitly re-
moved upon any pressing occasion, having a respect to
the promised supply for *Scotland*, the necessary use of
arms for *Ireland*, as well as for the safeguard and satis-
faction of these Northern parts. But much contrary to
Our expectation, and the duty and allegiance of Our
Subjects, we found the Gates of that Our Town shut,
and the Bridges drawn up against Vs: And though We
come in a peaceable way, reposing the greatest confi-
dence in the love and loyalty of Our people, by offe-
ring (as We did) to put Our own person, and Our
two Sons, but with twenty Horse, into that Town,
there being in it a Garrison of about eight hundred
Souldiers; yet we were not only denied entrance, but
in a warlike manner opposed by Sir *John Hotham*, the
armed men being placed in all the Ports, and about all
the Wals of the Town, alleaging (though falsely)
for his excuse, the Command of the Parliament, and
being pressed by Vs to shew such an Order in writing,
He could not do it; for We were ever very confident
that there was never any publick order of theirs, that
could so much as imply a denyall to Our admission;
We knowing well enough, that he was entrusted by
them for a guard and security of that place against
Forraign Enemies, or those at home who are disaffe-
cted in Religion, and not against his Naturall Sove-
raign; which hostile Opposition and actuall leavying
of War against Our person, being by the Statute of
25. *Ed.* 3. Enacted High treason: which statute con-
sidered, and that for the avoyding of all jealousies, as
we have said, We were content to have been admit-
ted with so very small a number in Our Company, We
were

were thereupon constrained to Proclaim the said Sir *John Hotham*, and all those that should adhere to, or assist him, Traitors. Of all which aboveſaid paſſages, We have acquainted Our Parliament, demanding justice to be done upon him, that they might thereby have opportunity to vindicate the imputation laid on them by S *John Hotham*, and We the easier way to chastise, according to the Law, so high a Treason. And lest a misunderstanding of Our intentions, or of the Law may misguide any of Our loyall and wel affected Subjects, the Inhabitants, Captains, Officers, or Souldiers in that Town, we have thought fit to commend to your consideration the aforesaid Statute, with that of the eleventh of *Henry* the seventh chap. 1.

Wherein it is declared, by the unanimous assent of Parliament, *That the Subjects of this Realm are bound by the duty of Allegiance, to serve the King, for the time being, for the defence of His person and the Land against any Rebellion, Might, or Power, raised against him, and with his Majesty to enter or abide in service, in battel, if cause so require.* And it was therefore Enacted, *That from thenceforth no person whatsoever that shall attend upon the King or be in place, by His command, within or without the Land, that for the same deed and true service of Allegiance, he and they be no wayes attaint or convict of high Treason, or of other offences for that cause, by any processe of Law, whereby he or any of them, shall loose or forfeit Lives, Lands, Tenements, goods, or any thing, but be for that deed and service utterly discharged of any vexation, trouble, or losse: And any Act or Acts, of other proces of Law thereupon for the same happen to be made contrary to this Ordinance, that then that Act or Acts, or other processe of the Law whatsoever they shall be, stand and be utterly*

All

All which, together with the Copies of Our Message and Petition (which we send here inclosed) We require you to publish to the Inhabitants, and all such Commanders and Souldiers as will hear them: That knowing both the perill of the Law on the one side, and the security of such as shal adhere unto Vs on the other, they be not misled (through ignorance) to decline their allegiance: And that the Souldiers may lay down their arms, and admit Our entrance in a peaceable way. In so doing you shall both discharge your duties, and those that shall have need, be assured to find (upon such their submission) Our ready mercy and pardon. And we do likewise require and charge all you, the Inhabitants as well Souldiers as others upon your allegiance, that you permit not any part of Our Magazine or Munition to be removed or transported out of that Town under any pretence of Order or power whatsoever, without our Royall assent in writing under Our hand. Assuring you, that it will be much more pleasing to Vs to have occasion administred by the fidelity of the Inhabitants to enlarge those graces and immunities granted to that Town by Our Predecessors, than to have any occasion to question your Charter.

Given at Our Court at York, *the twenty fifth of April* 1642.

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5. *To the Hight Sheriffe of Yorkeshire, May* 5. 1642. *From* York.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas We understand, that Sir *John Hotham* takes upon him (without any legall authority or power) to issue Warrants to Constables, and other Our Officers, to raise divers of Our Trained Bands of this Our Countrey, and requires them to march with their

arms, and to come into Our Town of *Hull*; where he hath disarmed divers of them, keeps their arms, and discharges the men. And wheras We are credibly informed, that divers persons who were lately Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captains, and Officers of the Trained Bands of this Our County, intend shortly to summon, and endeavour to muster the forces of this Our County; Forasmuch as by the Law of the Land, none of Our Trained Bands are to be raised or mustered, upon any pretence or authority whatsoever, but by special warrant under Our own hand, or by a legall Writ directed to the Sheriff of the County, or by Warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenants of the County, appointed and authorized by Comuission under Our Great Seal; and whereas at present there is no Lord Lieutenant or Deputy Lieutenant legally authorized to command the forces and Trained Bands of this Our County of *York*, and the Commissions, command, and power of all Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Captaines and Officers of Our Trained Bands, (which were derived from the Commission and power of the Lord Lieutenant onely) are now actually void, and of no force and authority; Our will and command therefore is, that you forthwith issue Warrants under your hand, to all the late Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Captains, and Officers, who (whiles the Lord Lieutenants Commission was in force) had the command of the Trained Bands of this Our County, and also to all High and petty Constables, and other Our Officers in this Our County, whom it may concern, charging and commanding them, and every of them, in Our Name, and upon their allegiance, and as they tender the peace of this Our Kingdom, not to muster, levy, or raise, or to summon, or warn (upon any pretence or directions whatsoever) any of our Trained Bands

to rise, muster, or march, without expresse war
under Our hand, or warrant from you Our She
grounded upon a particular writ to that purpose; w
We also command you, not to put in execution with
Our privity and allowance, whiles we shall reside
this Our County. And in case any of Our Trai
Bands shall rise, or gather together, contrary to
Our command, Then We will and command you
charge and require them, to dissolve and retire to t
dwellings. And if upon summons from you, t
shall not lay down their arms, and depart to t
dwelling; We will and command you upon your a
giance, and as you tender the peace and quiet of
Our Kingdom, to raise the power of the Coun
and suppresse them by force, as the Law hath dire
and given you power to do. And to the end that
Our expres command may be notified to all Our g
Subjects in this Our County, so as none may
tend hereafter to have been mis-led through
norance: We require you to cause these Our L
ters to be forthwith read, and published openly in
Churches and Parishes in this Our County. Herein
may not fail, as you tender the safety and honou
Our person, the good and peace of this our King
and will answer the contrary to your perill. For w
this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given at Our Court at York, *May* 5, *&c.*

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6. *To the Gentry of* Yorkshire, *May* 16. 164
From York.

WEE have with great contentment consider
your dutifull and affectionate Answer to O
proposition concerning the unsufferable affront wh
We received at *Hull*; We have not been decei
in that confidence We had in your affection, wh

We desire you to assure the rest of your Coun-
men, who through negligence, were omitted to
summoned: that We shall never abuse your love
any power wherewith God shall enable Vs to the
violation of the least of your liberties or the di-
ution of those immunities which we have gran-
you this Parliament, though they be beyond the
of most (if not all) Our Predecessours; being
olved with a constant and firm resolution to have
Law of this Land duly observed, and shall en-
our onely so to preserve Our just Royall Rights,
may enable Vs to protect Our Kingdom and peo-
according to the ancient Honours of the Kings
England, and according to the trust which by the
of God and this Land is put into the Crown, be-
sufficiently warned by the late affront at *Hull*, not
transfer the same out of Our power; concerning
affront We will take some time to advise which
We may usefully imploy your affections: In the
time We shall take it well from all such as shall
onally attend Vs, so followed and provided, as
shall think fit for the better safety of Our per-
because We know not what sudden violence, or
ont may be offered unto Vs, having lately recei-
such an actuall testimony of rebellious intenti-
as Sir *John Hotham* hath expressed at *Hull*: being
secured by your affections and assistance; We
omise you Our protection against any contrary
er whatsoever. And that you shall not be mole-
d for your humble and modest petition, as of late
u have been threatned.

Given at Our Court at York, *May* 16. 1642.

7. *To the Privy Councell of* Scotland, *May* 20. 164[illegible]
From York.

C. R.

RIght trusty and well beloved Cousins and Co[illegible]sellors, We greet you well. Although We have a[illegible]ready written Our minde to you Our Councel; yet u[illegible] Our second thoughts, arising especially from some [illegible] rumours, coming to our knowledge, We finde it nec[illegible]sary both for Our Self, and for the good of that O[illegible] Kingdom, to declare and make known both Our dis[illegible]sition and desires more fully.

We know and feel the charge to be great, and t[illegible] place to be high, wherein God (the King of Kings) hath placed Vs, and that we must render an acco[illegible] of all our actions to Him, who in His own time sh[illegible] judge all men without exception of persons. We h[illegible] no other intentions, but by Our government, to ho[illegible]nour Him by whom Kings reign, and to procure t[illegible] good of Our people; and for this end to preserve t[illegible] right and authority wherewith God hath vested V[illegible] and which by His providence hath been derived to V[illegible] by many Princely Progenitors: in the which glo[illegible] that Our ancient Kingdom, and native Realm of Sco[illegible]*land* doth participate.

We did not require of you that you should sit a[illegible] Judges upon the affairs of another Kingdom; W[illegible] onely intended to have both Our sufferings and O[illegible] actions, (as they are expresst in many papers past b[illegible] twixt Vs and Our Parliament) made throughly kno[illegible] to you; that since We have none besides you wh[illegible] We can acquaint with Our proceedings, you m[illegible] clearly see that We have been so far from wronging Our Parliament of *England*, that We have given the[illegible] all satisfaction, even above that which they themselv[illegible] in the beginning did expresse, or almost desire: A[illegible]

as much as could well consist with the safety of Our person and honour. We will not put you in minde of your natural affection towards Vs, which We know will rather be kindled than extinguished by Our distresse; Nor of your Covenant, wherein you are zealous of Our Greatnesse and Authority, and which standeth in that sense wherein you did swear and subscribe it; Nor of the many good Laws made in Our late Parliament (of which We hope the present and the succeeding Generations shall reap the fruits, when We are dead and gone;) Nor of the many promises made unto Vs, upon which We were willing to yeeld to such things for setling the government of that our Kingdom, in our personal absence, which neither could We have granted, nor would you have craved, (as your selves did professe) had Our greater affairs permitted Our residence amongst you. And whereas we are most unjustly blamed and calumniated, 1. That We are popishly affected; 2. That We are the cause of the bloudshed in *Ireland*, 3. That We intend to bring in Forraign Forces, We here do protest and declare in presence of him who knows the most secret of our intentions and actions, that We are no wayes conscious to Our Self of the guiltinesse of any of the said aspersions: And do take him to witnesse Our innocency therein, who onely hath the privilege to be the searcher of hearts. And if any after so full and plain profession shall distrust this Our free Declaration, We attest God, that the fault is in the malignity of their rebellious humours, and no wayes deserved on Our part.

Given at Our Court at York, *May* 20. 1642.

8. *To the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham, *June* 4. 164[2]
From York.

C. R.

RIght trusty and welbeloved, We greet you [well]
Whereas We understand, that you have [been]
to assemble, train, and muster the Trained Band[s]
Our County of *Lincoln*, under pretence of an Or[di]
nance of Parliament, whereto we have not [given]
Our consent; which is not onely contrary to [Law]
but to Our command & pleasure, signified by Our [Pro]
clamation sent to the High Sheriffe of that [the]
County: Wherefore, that you may not hereaf[ter]
plead ignorance of such Our prohibition; We do [by]
these Our Letters, command and charge you, [upon]
your allegiance, to desist and forbear to raise, [muster]
train, exercise, or assemble together any part of [the]
Trained Bands of Our County, either by your self, [or]
by any others imployed under you, or by warr[ant]
from you. And because you may for what you [have]
already done, concerning the *Militia* of that [the]
County, plead that you had not so particular a Co[m]
mand, We shall passe by what you have already [done]
therein, so as presently upon your receipt hereof [that]
you shall desist and give over medling any further
with any thing belonging to the *Militia* of that [the]
County; but if you shall not presently desist, and [for]
bear medling therewith, We are resolved to call [you]
to a strict account for your disobedience therein, [for]
so many particular and legall commands given you [as]
on your Allegiance to the contrary, and shall [then]
and proceed against you as a disturber of the peace [of]
Our Kingdom.

Given at Our Court at York, *June* 4. 1642.

To Our right trusty and well beloved the Lord Wil-
loughby *of* Parham.

9. *To the Commissioners of Array in* Leicestershire, *June* 12. 1642.

C. R.

Right trusty and right well beloved Cousins, and right trusty and well beloved, We greet you well: Whereas it hath been declared by the Votes of both Houses of Parliament the fifteenth of March last, that the Kingdom hath of late, and still is, in so evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a popish discontented party at home; that there is an urgent and inevitable necessity of putting Our Subjects to a posture of defence, for the safeguard both of Our Person and people: and that hithence divers inhabitants of divers Counties have addressed their Petitions to that purpose: And whereas a small number of both Houses (after it had been rejected by the Lords in a full House, and without Our Royall assent or opinion of the Judges concerning the legality hereof) have attempted by way of Ordinance to put in execution the power of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, and to dispossesse many of Our ancient Nobility of the command and trust reposed in them by Us, and have nominated divers others, who have no interest in, nor live near to some of the Counties to which they are nominated for the Lieutenancy, wherby they cannot be properly serviceable to the Counties wherewith they are intrusted, nor Our people receive that content and security which We desire they should; To submit to the execution of which power by way of Ordinance, without it were reduced into Law by Act of Parliament, established by our Royall assent, were to introduce and expose Our Subjects to a meer Arbitrary Government, which by Gods grace We will never permit.

We therefore considering that by the Laws of the Realm it belongeth solely to Vs, to order and go-

vern the *Militia* of the Kingdom, have thereupon by Our Proclamation of the 27 of May last, prohibited all manner of persons whatsoever upon their Allegiance, to Muster, Levy, or Summon, upon any Warrant, Order, or Ordinance from one or both Houses of Parliament, whereunto we have not, or shall not give Our expresse consent, any of the Trained Bands, or other Officers, without expresse Warrant under Our hands, or Warrant from Our Sheriff of the County, grounded on a particular Writ to that purpose under Our Great Seal. And considering that in antient time the *Militia* of the Kingdom was ever disposed of by Commissions of Array, and that by a particular Statute upon Record in the Tower, made in the fifth year of *Henry* the fourth, by full consent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and Commons, and at their sute, and by the advice and opinion of the Judges then had, such Commissions were mitigated in respect of some clauses perillous to the Commissioners; and approved of for the time to come: And that by the subsequent Records it appeareth, that all Our Royall Predecessors have continually exercised that power by such Commissions, till of late time they have been discontinued by the grants of particular Commissions of Lieutenancy; little differing in substance from the said Commissions of Array, against which it seems the Houses have taken some exception. And though We are no way satisfied of the illegallity of them, Our Councell being never heard in the defence thereof, yet being willing to avoid all exception, at present, We have thought fit to refer it, to that antient legall way of disposing the power of the *Militia*, by such Commissions of Array, for defence of Us, Our Kingdom and our Country. Authorizing you, or any three or more of you, to Array and Train Our people, and to apportion and assesse such persons as have

lesse estates, and are not able to bear arms, to find arms for other men, in a reasonable and moderate proportion; and to conduct them so arraid, as well to the Coasts as other places for the opposition and destruction of Our Enemies in case of danger, as to your discretions, or any three or more of you shall seem meet. Whereof you *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, and in your absence *William* Earl of *Devon*, or *Henry Hastings* Esquire, to be one: and being both confident in a great measure of the loyal affections of Our people, and very tender to bring any unnecessary burthen or charge on them, by augmenting the number of the Trained Bands, We do for the present only require that you forthwith cause to be Mustred and Trained all the antient Trained Bands and freehold Bands of the County, carefully seeing, that they be supplyed with able and sufficient persons, and compleatly armed; unlesse you finde that there be just cause, and that it shall be with the good liking of the inhabitants for their own better security to make any increase of their numbers; and over such Bands to appoint and set such Colonels, Captaines, and Officers, as you shall think most fit for the discharge of that service, being such persons as have considerable interest in the County, and not strangers. And in case of any opposition, you are to raise the power of the County to suppresse it, and to commit all such persons as shall be found Rebellious herein, into the custody of Our Sheriff; whose care and assistance We especially require. And that he shall from time to time issue forth such Warrants for the assembling of Our people at such times and places as by you shall be agreed on; according to the trust reposed in him by Our said Commission. And We have Authorized you Our Commissioners, or any three of you, after such array made, from time to time, to Train and

take

take Musters of Our said Bands; and to provide Beacons, and other necessaries for the better exercising of Our people, and discovery of sudden invasions and commotions: Of all which your proceedings herein, We expect a speedy and plenary account, according to the trust reposed in you, and authority given you by Our Commission on that behalf.

Given at Our Court at York, *the twelfth day of June, in the* 18 *year of Our reign*, 1642.

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10. *To the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs of* London, *June* 14. 1642. *From* York.

C. R.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have received severall informations of great sums of money endeavoured to be borrowed of Our City of *London*, by some direction proceeding from both Our Houses of Parliament, & likewise that great labour is used to perswade Our Subjects to raise Horse, and to furnish money, upon pretence of providing a guard for Our Parliament; These are to let you know, that notwithstanding any scandalous Votes which have presumed to declare Our intention of levying war against Our Parliament, and to lay other aspersions on Us, so fully disavowed by Us in the presence of Almighty God, by Our severall Answers and Declarations) all Our desires and purposes are for the publick peace, and that Wee have not the least thought of raising or using force, except We are compelled to it for the defence of Our person, and in protection of the Law: And therefore We expect, that you suffer not your selves to be mis-led by such vain and improbable suggestions, and doe declare, That if you shall lend any sums of money towards the relief of *Ireland* (to which We have contributed all the assistance

sistance could be desired of Vs, which way soever the money given and raised to that purpose is disposed) or towards the payment of our Scots Subjects, We shal take it as an acceptable service at your hands: but if upon generall pretences contrived by a few factious persons against the peace of the Kingdom, you shall give or lend any money, or provide or raise any horses or arms, towards the raising such a guard, We shall look upon it as the raising force against Vs, and to be done in malice and contempt of Vs and Our Authority. And We do therefore straitly charge and command you to publish this Our Letter to the several Masters and Wardens of the severall Companies that they may be assured, that such Money as they shall lend out of their good affection to the Kingdom may be only imployed for *Ireland* or *Scotland*, and not towards such guards, which (in truth) are intended by the contrivers of that design (though We believe many honest men seduced by them do not yet see their end) to be imployed against Vs: And if you and they shall herein fail punctually and severally to observe Our commands, We shal not only proceed against the several Companies for deceiving the trust reposed in them; but against the particular persons, as contemners and opposers of Our Authority, and of the Law of the land, in the most exemplary way the known Law of the Land shall prescribe to Vs; and shall be compelled to question the Charter of your City, which We are willing yet to believe (notwithstanding the barbarous and insolent demeanour of the meaner and baser sort) in a good degree to continue loyall to us. And of your obedience to these Our commands We do expect and require a ful account, and of the names of such persons who shall oppose the same. Hereof fail you not as you answer the contrary at your peril.

Given at Our Court at York *the* 14 *day of June, &c.*

11. *To the Iudges, to be published in their Circuits, July 4. 1642. From* York.

C. R.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. We call to mind that in former times the constant custome was by the mouth of the Lord Keeper for the time being, at the Court of Star Chamber, in the end of Trinity Term, to put the Judges of Assise (shortly after to undertake their severall Circuits) in mind of such things as were then thought necessary for the present for the good government of the Kingdom. This course in Our judgment We do well approve of, That although We want the opportunity, which We and Our Predecessors then had, of communicating Our thoughts to Our Judges, for the good of Our people, yet We do still retaine the same care for the safety and prosperity of Our good Subjects: And much more, by how much, the distempers and distractions of the present times, unhappily fallen, have given us more occasion. We have therefore thought it fit, to supply the defect by these Our Letters; wherein besides the generall care of Our Justice, committed to Vs by God, and by Vs delegated to Our Judges by Our severall Commissions, We recommend unto you in your Circuits, as We shall do to the rest of your brethren in their severall Circuits, these particulars following.

First, That you take care, by all the best means you can, to suppresse Popery in all those Counties whither you are to go, by putting the Lawes made against them in due execution: and that you take like care to give a stop to the over-hasty growth of Anabaptisme, and other Schismes, as far as by the good Lawes of the Land you may; and to punish the Delinquents with an equall hand, and those especially of either sort whom you shall discover to be seditious stirrers and

movers

movers of others to any acts of disobedience to Vs, and Our Government; and that in charge and otherwise, as you shall have fit opportunity, you assure Our good Subjects in Our Name, and in the word of a King, who calls God to witnesse, that by his gracious assistance We are constantly resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, established by Law in this Church of *England*, in the purity thereof, without declining either to the right hand or to the Left, as We found it at Our accesse to the Crown, and as it was maintained in the happy times of Queen *Elizabeth*, & King *Iames* Our dear father, both of happy memory, and therein both to live and dye.

Secondly, you shall let Our people of those Counties know, That according to our Kingly Duty and Oath, We are also constantly resolved to maintain the Lawes of this Our Kingdom; and by and according to them to govern Our Subjects, and not by any Arbitrary power, whatsoever the Malevolent spirits of any ill-affected to Our person and government, have suggested, or shall suggest to the contrary. And that We shall also maintain the just privileges of Parliament, as far as ever Our Predecessors have done, and as far as may stand with that justice which We owe to Our Crown, and the honour thereof: But that We may not, nor will admit of any such unwarranted power, in either or both Houses of Parliament, which in some things hath been lately usurped, not only without, but against Our Royall Consent and Command. And We require and command you, as there shall be just occasion offered, in a legall way, that you take care to preserve Our just Right in these cases.

Thirdly, We charge you, as you tender the peace of this Kingdom, in the Government whereof, according to the Laws, you Our Judges of the Law have a principall part under Vs, that you take care for suppressing

pressing of all Insurrections, if any such should happen, and of all Riots and unlawfull Assemblies under any pretence whatsoever, not warranted by the Laws of this Land; and whosoever shall transgresse therein, that you let them know that they must expect that punishment which by the Law may be inflicted upon them, and at your hands VVe shall look for such an account herein, within your Circuit, as becommeth the quality of the place wherein you serve Vs.

Fourthly, because the distempers of the present times unhappily stirred up and fomented by some, under specious, but unjust pretences, and probable to stir up loose and ungoverned people, under hope of impunity as far as they dare to make a prey of Our good Subjects, VVe straitly charge and command you to take the best order you can in those Counties, that Rogues, Vagabonds, and other disorderly people may be apprehended, dealt with and punished according to the Laws, whereby the good and quiet people of Our Kingdom may be secured, and the wicked and licentious may be suppressed: and VVe charge and command you to give it in charge in all the Counties whither you are sent by Our Commissions, that Watches and Wards be straitly kept in all Parishes and places convenient, whereby the Laws made against such disorders may be put in due execution.

Fifthly, and lastly, you shall let Our people of those Counties know from Vs, and by Our command, that if they shall professe unto Vs, or unto you in Our stead, any thing wherein they hold themselves grieved, in an humble and fitting way, and shall desire a just Reformation or Reliefe, We shall give a gracious ear unto them, and with all convenience return them such an answer, as shall give them cause to thank Vs for Our justice and favour: And when you shall have

have published Our clear intentions to our people in these things, lest at the first hearing they should not so fully apprehend Our sense therein, you shall deliver a copy of these our Letters to the Fore-man of the Grand-Jury, and to any other, if any one shall desire copies of these Our Letters for their better information: And to the end that Our services in your Circuit may not suffer through the absence of Our learned Councel, Our will and command is, that you assigne in every place of your Sessions some of the ablest Lawyers who ride that Circuit to be of Councell for Vs, to assist in such Pleas of the Crown, that may be most necessary for Our service in the execution and punishment of notorious Delinquents.

Of all these things We shall expect that good account from you, as we shall from the rest of your brethren Our Judges, to whom we have also written to the like purpose, of whose fidelity and good affection We are Confident as becometh Vs to look for from you, and for you to render to Vs, wherein you have so great a trust committed.

Given at Our Court at York, *July* 4. 1642.

To Our trusty and well beloved, the Judg or Judges of Assize for Our Counties of Kent, Surry, Sussex, Hartford, *and* Essex.

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11. *To the* Vice-Chancellour *of* Oxford, *July* 18. 1642. *From* Beverley.

Reverend Father in God, We greet you well,

WHereas We have received a most large and ample testimony of the affection of that Our Royall Vniversity to Vs, by the free loan of a very considerable Sum of Money, in the time of so great and pressing necessity. These are to will and require you, to give to that Our Vniversity from Vs, Our Royall thanks,

thanks, & to assure them, & every of them, (Our loving & loyall Subjects) that this testimony of their hearts towards us, shall never depart out of Our royall memory, and that both they shall be carefully repaid, and the money imployed only upon the defence of Our self, the true Protestant Religion, and the Lawes established in our Kingdom: and whereas We hear, that for this action so full of loyalty and allegiance, some of that Our Vniversity have been Ordered to be sent for; these are to will and require you, to signifie unto them and every of them (who assume such power to themselves without Vs) That We will and command that no obedience be given to any such summons, holding Our Self bound to protect and defend those, who shall be persecuted for that cause, by having contributed to Our defence and protection. And so We bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Beverly, *July* 18. 1642.

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13. *To the Mayor of* Oxford, *July* 22. 1642. *From* Nottingham.

C. R.

TRusty and wel beloved, We greet you wel. Whereas We have lately received very ample testimonies of the good affections of Our Vniversity of OXON, by the loan of such monies as could be thence spared for the supply of Our urgent and extraordinary occasions, for which dutifull and affectionate expression, VVe are informed that several worthy persons of that Our Vniversity, Our servants & others, are threatned to be troubled and molested, We have thought fit to commend the care, assistance, and protection of that place and of the persons in it, to you as a service, wherein you shall merit Our favour and good acceptance, and of which We shall require an account.

And

And We doe therefore will and require you, as you tender Our displeasure, if any Warrant, Order, or other direction whatsoever shall come to your hand for the apprehending or troubling any person or persons of that Our Vniversity for his good affection to Our service in advancing the businesse of lending and supplying Vs with money, which We shall never forget, that you be so far from countenancing or assisting any such warrant or direction, that on the contrary you use your utmost power to preserve those Our good Subjects from such oppression, the which We shall take in very good part at your hand, and for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Our Court at Nottingham, *July* 22. 1642.

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14. *To the Sheriffs of* London, *January* 17. 1642. *From* Oxford.

C. R

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you well. We received lately a Petition from the Aldermen and Common-councel of Our City of *London*, by the hands of persons intrusted by them for the delivery, who found such a reception from Vs, as well manifested our regard to that body which sent them; though We well knew by whom that Petition was framed, and where perused and examined, before it was approved by those, from whom it seemed to be sent, yet We were so willing to enter into a correspondence with that Our City, and to receive any addresse and application from them, according to that invitation We had given by Our late Proclamation; and were so glad to finde that there was yet some hopes they would look to the peace and happinesse of that City, and at last sever themselvs from any Faction or dependence which might insensibly

involve them in those calamities they did not fore-
see, that We returned such a gracious Answer there-
unto, so full of candor and affection, that the mea-
nest inhabitant of that Our City, if he carefully con-
sider the same, will finde himself concerned in it, and
that We have had an especiall care of his particular.
With this answer of Ours We sent a servant of Our
own, in the company of those who had been so well
used here, to require and see that it might be com-
municated to the whole body of that Our City; not
doubting but that both it and the bringer should re-
ceive such entertainment there, as might manifest
their due regard of Vs, and of Our affection to them.
But to Our great wonder, We finde that after ten
dayes attendance, and suffering ridiculous Pamphlets
to be published in Our Name, as if We retracted Our
former resolutions, (which Pamphlets We have com-
sed to be burned by the hand of the Hangman, as We
also require you to see done) instead of that admis-
on We expected to Our Messenger and Messag-
Guards of armed men have been brought to k
Our good Subjects, to whom that Our Answer w
directed, from being present at the reading there
and Speeches have been made by strangers (w
have been admitted to the City Councells, co
trary to the Freedome and Custome of these me
tings,) to blast Our said Answer, and to dish
nor and slander Vs, which if Our good Sub
jects there shall suffer, Wee shall be much di
couraged in Our desired correspondence with th
Our City, and so by the cunning and power
those Incendiaries mentioned in Our Answer (A
derman *Pennington*) who to shew his great loy
ty to Vs, and his fitnesse to be the chief Magis
of such a City, being informed that a desp
person there said, *That he hoped shortly to see*
evlovm

hands in Our bloud, refuſed to ſend any Warrant, or to give any direction to any Officer for his apprehenſion (*Ven*, *Fulke*, and *Manwaring*) who have plunged that Our City into ſuch unſpeakable calamities, in which they would ſtill keep it to cure their owne deſperate condition, Our good Subjects there are not ſuffered to receive Our gracious Anſwer to that Petition: We have therefore thought fit to write theſe Our Letters to you, requiring you the Sheriffes of Our ſaid City to take care for the publiſhing that Our Anſwer (which We herewith ſend you) to Our good Subjects of that Our City: And Our pleaſure is, That you the Maſters and VVardens of the ſeverall Companies of Our ſaid City, forthwith ſummon all the Members of your ſeverall Companies, with all the Freemen and Apprentices (whoſe hopes and intereſts are ſo much blaſted by theſe generall diſtractions) belonging thereunto, to appear at your ſeverall Halls, where you ſhall cauſe Our ſaid Anſwer, together with theſe Our Letters, to be publickly read, that all Our good Subjects may fully underſtand how far We have been from beginning, how far We are from continuing or nouriſhing theſe unnaturall civil diſſentions, and how much in their own power to remove the preſent preſſures, and to eſtabliſh the future happineſſe and glory of that famous City, and moſt ſeriouſly weigh every part of that Our Anſwer, as well that which carries caution in it for the future, as pardon for what is paſt; for aſſure your ſelves for the time to come, We ſhall proceed with all ſeverity againſt ſuch who ſhall incur the penalty of the Law in thoſe points, of which We have given them ſo fair a warning in Our ſaid Anſwer, and whoſever ſhall not behave himſelf like a good Subject in this Our Kingdom, ſhall not, (if We can help it) receive the benefit and advantage of being

Our Subject in any other; but all Forraign Princes shall know, that as such person hath parted with his loyalty to Vs, so he must not hope for any security by Vs, and to that purpose We shall henceforward have a very inquisitive eye upon the actions of all Our Subjects, that some example may be made how easie it is for Vs to punish their disloyalties abroad, who for a time may avoid Our justice at home. And to the end that none of Our good Subjects of that our City may think themselves bound to obey any of the orders or commands of the pretended Lord Mayor (whom We have and do still accuse of high Treason, and conspiring to take Our Life from Vs) It is well known unto those Citizens who understand the Charter of that City (so amply granted by Our Royall progenitors, and so graciously confirmed by Vs, and of which We presume our good Subjects there do still desire to receive the benefit) that the said *Isaac Penington* was never regularly elected, or lawfully admitted to be Lord Mayor of that Our City, that in truth Alderman *Cordwell*, was by the plurality of voices chosen, and that this man was never presented to, or admitted by Vs, in such manner as is prescribed by their said Charter, neither had that Judge, who presumed to swear him, any more colour of law or authority to administer such an oath to him, then he hath to doe the same to morrow to any other Alderman of the City: And We do therfore hereby declare the said *Isaac Penington* not to be Mayor of that Our City of *London*, and to have no lawful authority to exercise the same, and that Our good Subjects of that Our City, ought not to submit to any Orders, directions, or commands which shall issue from him as Lord Mayor of that Our City, but that the same are void and of none effect. And We do once more require you the Sheriffs of Our said City, and all other

the Magistrates of the same, in which all Our good Subjects of that City will assist you, that you cause the said *Isaac Pennington*, *Ven*, *Fulk*, and *Munwaring*, to be apprehended and committed to safe custody, that We may proceed against them as guilty of high Treason, and principall Authors of those calamities which are now so heavy upon Our poor Subjects of that City, and if not suddenly remedied will in a short time utterly confound a place, and a people lately of so flourishing an estimation in all parts of Christendom. And whereas We are informed that one *Brown* a Woodmonger, *Titchburne* a Linen-Draper, and one *Harvey* a Silkman, have exercised great insolencies and outrages in that Our City, and when many of Our good Subjects there, have assembled together in a peaceable and modest manner, to consult about the peace and welfare of that City, the said mutinous and seditious persons have presumed to lead multitudes of armed men against them, and by such force have beaten, wounded, and killed Our good Subjects, Our will and pleasure is, That if the said *Brown*, *Titchburn*, and *Harvey*, or either of them, shall so far neglect Our gracious offer of pardon, as still to engage themselves in those unwarrantable and seditious courses, That you Our Sheriffs of *London*, raise power to suppresse the said force, and that you and all Our Ministers of justice, use your utmost means to apprehend the said persons, and to bring them to condign punishment. And We do hereby declare, That it shall be lawfull for any of Our loving Subjects, to resist and oppose the said persons, if they shall hereafter in such a warlike manner, endeavour to molest them, as they would do Rebels and Traytors: And We hope that all Our good Subjects of that Our much injured City of *London*, do take notice of Our grace and favour towards them, in Our so freely passing by and pardoning

the offences there committed against Vs, as We
offered by Our Proclamation and Our late Ans
and of Our very earnest desire to be with them
to reside amongst them for their comfort, suppo
and protection, if they shall, by first providing
their own security (in such manner as We have
rected them in Our late Answer) give Vs an insta
that We may be safe there too: and that they do
wise observe, that being by such violence kept fr
them, We have done Our utmost endeavour to co
tinue and advance the decayed trading of that
City, by permitting and encouraging all resort
traffique thither, and therefore if by the stopping
carriages, and seizing commodities by other men,
commerce and correspondence be broken between
place and Our good Subjects of other Counties,
will impute that mischief to the true authors of it,
look upon Vs onely as not able to help them. Do
your duties, and this cloud which threatens a pre
confusion will quickly vanish away, and you will
joy all the blessings of a happy Nation, to the wh
no endeavour of Ours shall be wanting.

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15. *To the Sheriff and Justices of Gloucestershire, Feb.*
1642. *From* Oxford.

TRusty and well beloved, We greet you w
Whereas there hath been lately an Insurrec
and Rebellion against Vs in Our County of *Glo*
which hath so generally possessed the spirits of
County (though We do acknowledge many Gen
men of the best quality there, have with courage
tained their loyalty to Vs, and have suffered with
which We shall alwayes and particularly remem
that there hath been a greater concurrence ther
this desperate Rebellion than in any County of

Land, insomuch that We have been compelled to send a considerable part of our Army thither, the which it pleased God to blesse with such successe, that We hope for the future We shall be able by the concurrence and assistance of you, and the rest of Our good Subjects of that good County, to preserve you from the like Invasions. And to shew how far We are from the just sense and indignation We might well entertain against those, who have so wilfully fallen from their allegiance, or concurred with the disloyalty of others, by not applying themselves to a timely prevention, We have sent Our gracious Proclamation to inhibit Our Souldiers from plundering, or using any violence to any of Our Subjects of that County, of what condition soever, and to secure them in the freedome of their Markets, that their Trade and Commerce may be renewed and continued. Yet We must declare unto you, that We expect some reparation, and an exemplary testimony of their conversion and affection, who neglecting Our former Proclamations of Grace and pardon, continued still to foment this unnaturall bloody dissention, though We shall not proceed with strictnesse and severity against them; And it will not seem just that the charge and burthen, brought upon the Countrey by the malice and connivence of such Men, should be equally born by those who have faithfully adhered in their loyalty and affection to Vs, which is the case in the rate for the monethly Contribution agreed upon, in which all persons of ability are equally engaged, how different soever their demeanour hath been; And therefore Our pleasure is, That you, or any three of you (whereof We appoint you Our High Sheriffe to be one) call and summon together the Gentlemen, Clergy, and substantiall Freeholders and Inhabitants of that Our

County, to appear before you at such times and places as you shall think most convenient, and move them in Our Name freely to assist and contribute unto Vs according to their severall abilities, in these Our urgent and important occasions, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, in which they have been bred, for the defence of the Laws and Liberties, to which they were born, and for the safety of Our person, to which they have so often sworn; and as we believe all well-affected persons will be ready and willing upon this occasion to expresse their duty to Vs, so We doubt not such, who have by weaknesse and misunderstanding, or through fear and apprehension of danger been so far transported, as to conrribute or consent to these horrid dissentions, will by their free and liberall assistance of Vs, expresse, that their former errors proceed from weaknesse, not from malice. And Our Pleasure is, and We do hereby authorize you Our high Sheriffe to receive all such summes of money as shall be contributed unto Vs, and with the advice of the Iustices of the peace, who shall assist you in that service, to return the names of all such who shall expresse their affections to Vs this way, as likewise of those whose stubbornesse and perversenesse may, in your opinion, have an ill influence upon the peace and quiet of the County. And you shall further require all the Trained Bands of that Our County, to send in the arms they have been charged with, to Our Magazine at *Cyrencester* within ten days after the date of this Our Letter, at their utmost peril: and if any men shall excuse themselves by saying, that their Arms are already delivered in at *Glocester* or *Cyrencester*, or any other place, and therefore that they cannot obey Vs herein, you shall let them know, that We will not consent that their readinesse to obey those commands which tended to the disturbance of the peace of that

Our

Our County, shall be any excuse for their not obeying Ours, which are for their necessary defence and safety, and therefore We shall expect that every person, within that Our County, who is charged with arms, or hath found arms by vertue of the pretended Ordinance of the *Militia*, shall within the time prefixed deliver the arms with which he is charged, and such who executed the *Militia*, all their armes into Our said Magazine, except such persons who shall sufficiently make proof before you, that their arms were by force and violence taken from them by the said Rebells; and of this you shall give Vs a particular account, that We well knowing the number of arms that Our County stands charged with, and with which private persons have lately furnished themselves, may judg of their affections by their obedience to these commands. Lastly, because the City of *Gloceſter*, notwithstanding Our gracious Proclamation and offer of pardon, doth yet refuse to yield that submission and obedience which is due to Vs, whereby We may be compelled to visit those parts with our Army, which might else be free from those inconveniencies, We straitly will and command all Our loving Subjects of that Our County, to forbear, and not to entertaine any commerce or traffique with our said City of *Gloceſter*, neither by buying or selling, or any other offices of Neighbourhood, till the same shall returne to its loyalty and subjection, which if it shall do, We shall receive it into Our protection, and defend it from any assaults or violence. And you shall cause these Our Letters, to be publickly read in all the Churches and Chappels of that Our County, that all Our Subjects may know the contents thereof, and conform themselves accordingly.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, *Feb.* 12. 1642.

16. *To*

16. *To the Privy Councell of* Scotland, *Decemb.* 6. 1642.
From Oxford.

RIght trusty and right well beloved Cosins and Counsellours, and right trusty and well beloved Counsellours, We greet you well. We have lately seen a paper presented to us by the Earl of *Lynsey*, as a Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, of the 7 of November, to Our Subjects of Our Kingdom of *Scotland*; which after many high taxes of Vs and Our government, very earnestly invites, and in a manner chailenges assistance, from that our Native Kingdom, of Men and Arms for making a war against Vs, making a claim to that assistance, by vertue of the late Act of Pacification, to the which (out of Our desire to make a perpetuall union between Our two Kingdoms, for the happinesse of both, and by it the more firmly to establish Our own greatnes and power,) We cheerfully consented.

As We are at Our Soul afflicted, that it hath been in the power of any factious, ambitious, and malitious persons, so far to possesse the hearts of many of Our Subjects of *England*, as to raise this miserable distemper and distraction in this Kingdom, against all our reall actions and indeavours to the contrary; so We are glad that this rage and fury hath so farre transported them; that they apply themselves in so grosse a manner to Our subjects of *Scotland*, whose experience of Our Religion, Iustice, and Love of Our people will not suffer them to believe those horrid Scandalls laid upon Vs; and their affection, loyalty, and jealousie of Our honour, will disdain to be made instruments to oppresse their Native Soveraign, by assisting an odious Rebellion.

We have from time to time acquainted Our Sub-

jects

jects of that Kingdom, with the accidents and circumstances which have disquieted this: how (after all the acts of justice, grace, and favour, performed on Our part, which were, or could be desired to make a people compleatly happy,) We were driven by the force and violence of rude and tumultuous assemblies, from Our City of *London*, and our two Houses of Parliament; How attempts have been made to impose Lawes upon Our Subjects without Our consent, contrary to the foundation, and constitution of this Kingdom; How Our Forts, Goods, and Navy were seized and taken from Vs by force, and imployed against Vs; Our Revenue & ordinary subsistance wrested from Vs; How We have been pursued with scandalous and reproachfull language; bold, false, and seditious Pasquils, and Libels publickly allowed against Vs; and been told that We might, without want of modesty and duty, be Deposed. Now after all this (before any force raised by Vs) an Army was raised, and a Generall appointed to lead that Army against Vs, with a Commission to kill, slay, and destroy all such who should be faithfull to Vs. That when We had been by these means compelled with the assistance of Our good Subjects to raise an Army for Our necessary defence, We sent divers gracious Messages, earnestly desiring that the calamities and miseries of a civill War might be prevented by a Treaty, and so We might know the grounds of this misunderstanding. How We were absolutely refused to be treated with: and how at last the Army (raised, as was pretended, for the defence of Our person) was brought into the field against Vs gave Vs battell, and (though it pleased God to give Vs the victory) destroyed many of Our good Subjects, with as eminent danger to Our own person and our Children, as the skill and malice of desperate Rebels could contrive: of all which and the other indignities which have been

been offered Vs, We doubt not the duty and affection of our Scotish Subjects will have so just a resentment, that they will expresse to the World the sense they have of Our sufferings. And Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are not, We hope, so great Strangers to the affairs of this Kingdom, to believe that this misfortune and distraction is begot and brought upon Vs by Our two Houses of Parliament: (though in truth no unwarrantable action against the Law can be justified even by that authority.) They well know how the Members of both Houses have been driven thence, insomuch, that of above five hundred Members of the House of Commons, there are not now there above eighty, and of above one hundred of the House of Peers, not above fifteen or sixteen. All which are so awed by the multitude of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other persons, desperate and decayed in their fortunes, in and about the City of *London*, that in truth their consultations have not the freedom and privilege which belong to Parliaments.

Concerning any Commissions granted by Vs to Papists to raise forces, We must refer Our good Subjects to a Declaration lately set forth by Vs upon the occasion of that Scandall, which We send together with this; and for Our own true and zealous affection to the Protestant Religion (the advancement whereof Our Soul desires) We can give no other instances, than Our constant practice, on which malice it selfe can lay no blemish, & those many Protestations We have made in the sight of Almighty God, to whom We know We shall be deerly accountable, if We fail in the observation.

For that Scandalous imputation of Our intention of bringing in Forraign Forces, as the same is raised without the least colour or shadow of reason, and solemnly disavowed by Vs in many of Our Declarations;

ons; ſo there cannot be a clearer argument to Our Subjects of *Scotland* that We have no ſuch thought, than that We have hitherto forborne to require the aſſiſtance of that Our Native Kingdom, from whoſe obedience, duty, and affection We ſhould confidently expect it, if We thought Our own ſtrength here too weak to preſerve Vs; and of whoſe courage and loyalty We ſhall look to make uſe, before We ſhall think of any Forraign aid to ſuccour Vs. And We know no reaſonable or underſtanding man can ſuppoſe Our good Subjects of *Scotland* are obliged, or enabled by the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, to obey the invitation which is made to them by this pretended Declaration; when it is ſo evidently provided for by this act, that as the Kingdom of *England*, ſhall not make war againſt the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without the conſent of the Parliament of *England*, ſo the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhall not make war againſt the Kingdom of *England*, without the conſent of the Parliament of *Scotland*: and when they have alwaies declared themſelves ſo carefull of Our Honour, Safety, and juſt Rights, which now undergo ſo great violation.

This we have thought fit to ſay upon occaſion of this late Declaration, and do commend it to you the Lords of Our Privy Councell of Our Kingdome of *Scotland*, to be communicated and publiſhed to all Our loving Subjects there; and if the grave Counſell and advice, which you derived hither by your Act of the 22 of Aprill laſt, had been followed here, in a tender care of Our Royall perſon, and Our Princely greatneſſe and authority, then would not this face of Confuſion have appeared, which now threatens this Kingdome: And therefore We require you to uſe your utmoſt indeavours to enforme Our Subjects of that Our Kingdome, of the truth of Our condition,

and

and that you suffer not the Scandals and imputations laid on Vs, by the malice and treason of some men, to make any impression in the minds of Our people, to the lessening or corrupting their affections and loyalty to Vs; but that you assure them the hardnesse We now undergo, and the Arms we have been compelled to take up, are for the defence of Our person, and safety of Our life, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, for the preservation of the Lawes, Liberties, and constitution of this Kingdom, and for the just privileges of Parliament: And We look no longer for the blessing of Heaven, than wee endeavour the defence and advancement of all these: And We doubt not a dutiful concurrence in Our Subjects of *Scotland*, in the care of Our Honour and just Rights, will draw down a blessing on that Nation too.

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17. *To the Privy Councell of* Scotland, *Sept.* 18. 1642. *From* Stratford.

C. R.

RIght trusty and well beloved Cousins and Counsellours, right trusty, and trusty and well beloved Counsellours, and trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Having been informed that upon Petition of the Commissioners from Our late generall Assembly, Our Councel thought fit that you should meet, for discharge of that trust reposed on you by Vs and Our Parliament, whereby all fair means may be used to prevent such troubles and divisions as may interrupt or endanger the common peace of Our Kingdoms: and as it ought to be the continuall study and care, of all good and pious Princes to preserve their people; so certainly it is the duty of all loyall and faithfull Subjects to maintain the greatnesse and just

juſt authority of their Princes; ſo that without this reciprocall indeavour, there can be no happineſſe for the Prince, nor ſecurity for the people. We are confident Our late actions in *Scotland*, will to all poſterity be an acceptable witneſſe of Our care in preſerving the Liberty of theſe our Subjects, and Our deſire to ſettle a perfect peace in that our Kingdom: And We are as confident, that the many good Acts We have paſt here ſince the down-ſitting of this Parliament (indeed denying none but ſuch as denied Vs any power at all, and were never ſo much as demanded from any of Our predeceſſors) will bear the like teſtimony of Our affections to the good and peace of this Kingdome, though the ſucceſſe hath not bin alike. For though We have uſed Our beſt endeavours to prevent the preſent diſtractions and thretning dangers, yet ſo prevalent have been the oppoſers of Vs, and the peace of Our Kingdoms, as not ſo much as a Treaty can be obtained (though by Our ſeverall Meſſages We have deſcended to demand and preſſe it) unleſſe upon ſuch conditions as would, either by taking all power of Government from Vs, make Vs as no King, or by forceing Vs to quit the protection of ſuch, as (for obeying Vs according to Law and their Oath of Allegiance) they would have Traitors, and ſo make Vs do an act unworthy of a King: Yet ſo deſirous We are to ſave Our Subjects blood, (which cannot but be prodigally ſpent, if We be neceſſitated by force of arms to decide their unhappy differences) that no ſooner any ſuch Treaty ſhall be offered unto Vs by them (which with Honour and ſafety We can receive) but We ſhall cheerfully embrace it. This We have thought fit to acquaint you withall, that from Our ſelves you may know Our love to peace: and We doubt not but your meeting at this time will produce ſomething which will witneſſe your

tender

Tender respect to Our honour and safety. And so much do we confide in your affections, as We shall absolutely leave the ways and means of expressing it to your selves. So We bid heartily farewel.

From Our Court at Stafford, *Sept.* 18. 1642.

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18. *To the Privy Councell of* Scotland, *Octob.* 13. 1642. *From* Bridgenorth.

C. R.

RIght trusty and well beloved Cousins, and Counsellours, right trusty, and trusty and well beloved Counsellours, and trusty and wel beloved, We greet you well. By your letter of the 29 of September, We conceive how sensible you are of the present distractions of this Kingdom, which cannot be a greater grief to any than Our Self. But seeing all the means We could possibly use for the removall thereof are (by the practises of such as Study division) prevented, and all Our offers of Treating (in a fair way to settle these distempers) slighted and not regarded; We are for the defence of true Religion, and the maintainance of the Liberties of the Subject, the privileges of Parliament, and Our just, and ever till now unquestioned Authority, necessitated to put Our selves in the posture We are now in, and we shall no further beg a blessing from God on Our proceedings, than we intend the preservation of these.

As for your resolution of sending here some of your number; Wee see no reason why they should apprehend any danger in their repair to Vs; for they may be confident to have a safe and free accesse to Our person, which We have never denyed to any of Our good Subjects who repaired to Vs in a dutifull manner, and were not out of Our protection. Therefore We conceive, the granting of a safe conduct to any

such, absolutely non-necessary: But if they appre-hend any danger from the present disorders of this Kingdom, & Armies now on foot, We will grant such a pass both for their coming & return, as We ordinarily give to any of Our Subjects or servants for passing through Our Garrisons, Towns, or Armies: which We doubt not will both secure them, and satisfie you. So We bid you heartily farewel. *From Our Court at* Bridgenorth *the* 13 *of Octob.* 1642.

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19. *To the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, & Common-Councel of* Bristol, *about Mr.* Yeomans, *and Mr.* Bourchier, *&c. May* 29. 1643. From Oxford.

TRusty & wel-beloved, We greet you wel. Whereas We are informed that by the power and authority of certain factious and rebellious persons in that Our City of *Bristol*, divers of Our good Subjects (as namely *Robert Yeomans*, *George Bourchier*, *William Yeomans*, *Edward Dacres* and others) of that Our City are imprisoned for preserving their duty and loyalty to Vs, and for refusing to joyn in, or assist this horrid and odious Rebellion against Vs, & that the said wicked & traiterous persons have presumed to condemn the said innocent men to die, & upon such their sentence notoriously against the Laws of God & Man, they intend to execute and murther Our said Subjects; We have thought fit to signifie to you the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the rest of the body of the Councel of that Our City, that if you suffer this horrid and execrable murther to be committed upon the persons aforesaid, and thereby call the just judgement of God, and bring perpetual infamy upon that Our City, We shall look upon it, as the most barbarous and inhumane act, that hath been yet committed against Vs, and upon you as the most desperate betrayers of Vs, and of the lives and liberties of your fellow Subjects. And We doe therefore

will and command you, not to suffer any violence to be done upon the persons aforesaid, but that if such be attempted against them, that you raise all the power and strength of that our City for their rescue; and to that purpose We command all Our good Subjects of that Our City to aid and assist you upon their Allegiance, and as they hope for any grace and favour at Our hands: and that you and they kill and slay all such who shall attempt or endeavour to take away the lives of Our said Subjects; and for so doing this shall be your Warrant. And hereof you are not to fail at your utmost peril.

Given at Our Court at Oxford *May* 29. 1643.

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20. *To the City of* Gloucester, *A Summons, with their Answer, August.* 10. 1643.

OVt of Our tender compassion to Our City of *Gloucester*, and that it may not receive prejudice by Our Army, which We cannot prevent, if We be compelled to assault it, We are personally come before it to require the same, and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other persons within that City, as well Souldiers as others, know That if they shall immediately submit themselves and deliver this Our City to Us, VVe are content freely and absolutely to pardon every of them without exception; and to assure them on the word of a KING, that they nor any of them shall receive the least dammage or prejudice by Our Army in their persons or estates; but that VVe will appoint such a Governour, and a moderate Garrison to reside there as shall be both for the ease and security of that City and that whole County. But if they shall neglect this proffer of Grace and Favour, and compell Us by the power of Our Army to reduce that place (which by the help of God We doubt not We shall be able

and shortly able to do) they must thank themselves, for all the calamities and miseries must befall them. To this Message We expect a clear and positive Answer within two houres after publishing hereof. And by these presents do give leave to any persons safely to repaire to, and return from Vs, whom that City shall desire to employ unto Vs in that businesse. And do require all the Officers and Souldiers of Our Army, quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.

August 10. 1643.

WE the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers and Souldiers within this Garrison of *Glocester*, unto his gracious Message return this humble Answer; That We do keep this City according to our Oathes and Allegiance to and for the use of His Majesty and his Royall posterity, and do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the commands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament; and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City according-

[illegible] Wise, *Major*, John Brewster, G. Dawidsson, Robert Maxwell, Edw. Massie, Con. Ferrer, William Luggo, [illegible] Singleton, Thomas Hill, Thomas Pury, Iohn Scriven, [illegible] Webb, Io. Dorney, Anth. Edwards, John Halford, [illegible] Jordan, Hum. Mathewes, Isaac Dobson, Edward [illegible], Charls Blount, Peter Crispe, Rob. Backhouse, [illegible] Harcus, Tho. Pury *Iun.* Rob. Stevenson, Thomas [illegible].

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1. *To the Inhabitants of* Cornwall, *a Letter of thanks, Sept.* 10. 1643. *From* Sudely *Castle.*

C. R.

WE are so highly sensible of the extraordinary merit of Our County of *Cornwall*, of their

zeal for the defence of Our person, and the just Right of Our Crown, (in a time when We could contribute so little to Our own defence or to their assistance; in a time when not onely no reward appeared, but great and probable dangers were threatned to obedience and loyalty;) of their great and eminent courage and patience in their indefatigable prosecution of their great work against so potent an Enemy, backt with so strong, rich, and populous Cities, and so plentifully furnished and supplied with Men, Arms, Money, Ammunition and provision of all kinds; And of the wonderfull successe with which it hath pleased Almighty God (though with the losse of some most eminent persons who shall never be forgotten by Us to reward their loyalty and patience by many strange Victories over their and Our Enemies, in despite of all humane probability, and all imaginable disadvantages; that as We cannot be forgetfull of so great deserts, so We cannot but desire to publish to all the World, and perpetuate to all Time, the memory of their merits, and of Our acceptance of the same. And to that end, We doe hereby render our Royal thanks to that Our County, in the most publick and most lasting manner We can devise, commanding Copies hereof to be printed and published, and one of them to be read in every Church and Chappel therein, and to be kept for ever as a Record in the same; That as long as the History of these Times, and of this Nation shall continue, the memory of how much that County hath merited from Us and Our Crown, may be derived with it to posterity.

Given at Our Camp at Sudely-*Castle the tenth of September*, 1643.

52. *To the Earl of* Eſſex *at* Leſtithiel, *with another letter to him from the Officers of the Kings Army, Auguſt* 6. 1644. *From* Liskard *in* CORNWALL.

ESSEX, I have been very willing to believe, that when ever there ſhould be ſuch a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy ſettlement of this miſerable Kingdom, (which al good men deſire) you would lay hold of it. That ſeaſon is now before you, you have it at this time in your power to redeeme your Countrey and the Crown, & to oblige your King in the higheſt degree, (an Action certainly of the greateſt piety, prudence and honour) ſuch an opportunity as perhaps no Subject before you hath ever had, or after you ſhall have. To which there is no more required, but that you joyn with Me heartily and really, in the ſetling of thoſe things which We have both profeſſed conſtantly to be Our onely aimes. Let us do this, and if any ſhall be ſo fooliſhly unnaturall as to oppoſe their Kings, their Countries, and their own good, We will make them happy (by Gods bleſſing) even againſt their wils. The onely impediment can be want of mutuall confidence; I promiſe it you on my part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by my Letter to *Hertford* from *Eveſham*. I hope this will perfect it, when (as I here do) I ſhall have engag'd unto you the word of a King, that you joyning with Me in that bleſſed work, I ſhall give both to you and your Army ſuch eminent marks of My confidence and valour, as ſhall not leave a room for the leaſt diſtruſt amongſt you, either in relation to the publick, or your ſelf, unto whom I ſhall then be *Your faithfull Friend,*

Liskard Aug. 6. 1644. *C. R.*

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully inſtructed in particulars, but this will admit of no delay.

My Lord,

WE having obtained his Majesties leave to [illegible] this to your Lordship, shall not repeat [illegible] many gracious Messages, Endeavours, and Declara[illegible]ons which his Majesty hath made; and have been [illegible] solemnly protested in the presence of God and Me[illegible] That we wonder how the most scrupulous can make [illegible]ny doubt of the real, and Royal performance of th[illegible] But we must before this approaching occasion tell [illegible] Lordsh. that we bear arms for this end only, to de[illegible] his Majesties known Rights, the Laws of the Kingdo[illegible] the Liberty of the Subject, the Privilege of the Par[illegible]ment, and the true Protestant Religion, against Po[illegible]pery and Popish Innovations: and this being the pr[illegible]fessed cause of your Lordships taking arms, we are co[illegible]fident, that concurring in the same opinions and pr[illegible]tences, we shall not by an unnaturall war weaken t[illegible] main strength of this Kingdom, and advance the d[illegible]signe of our Common Enemies, who long since ha[illegible] devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the exigent of th[illegible] time will not suffer us to make any laboured Declara[illegible]ons of our intentions, but only this, That on the fai[illegible] of Subjects, the Honour and Reputation of Gen[illegible]men and Souldiers, we will with our Lives maint[illegible] that which his Majesty shall publickly promise in ord[illegible] to a bloodlesse peace, nor shall it be in the power o[illegible] any private persons to divert this resolutions of ou[illegible] and the same we expect from you: And now we m[illegible] take leave to protest, That if this our proffer be re[illegible]lected (which we make neither in fear of your pow[illegible] nor distrust of our own, but only touched with th[illegible] approaching miseries of our Nation) that what cal[illegible]mities shall oppresse posterity, will lie heavy on th[illegible] Souls and Consciences of those that shall decline th[illegible] Overture; which we cannot hope so seasonably to [illegible] make againe, if this Conjuncture be let go: An[illegible]

therefore

therefore it is desired that your Lordship, and six other persons may meet our Generall to morrow (at such an indifferent place as you shall think fit) attended with as many; or if you shall find that any way inconvenient, to come in person, that then your Lordship will appoint such or so many to meet with the like number from hence, that may consider of all means possible to reconcile these unhappy differences and misunderstandings that have so long afflicted the Kingdom. And for the security of your Lordship, and those that shall come with, and be imployed by your Lordship, We do engage our faith and Honour, and do expect the same from your Lordship, desiring withall your very speedy Answer, which must be a guide to our proceedings. Concluding, that if this shall be refused, we shall hold our selves justified before God and Men, whatsoever shall be the successe; so we rest.

From the Army the 8 of August. 1644.

Your Lordships humble Servants.

Maurice, Tho. Wentworth, Lindsey, Lo. Hopton, Northampton, Cleaveland, Tho. Blagge, Ios. Bamfield, Anth. Thelwel, Iohn Owen, Tho. Stradling, Robert Howard, Iohn Stocker, Edw. Porter, Gilbert Armestrong, Rich. Nevel, Tho. Pigat, Io. Browne, Ad. Scroop, Amy Pollard, Ia. Hamilton, Richard Thornil, Io. Topping, Ia. Dundasse, Gyles Strangeways, R. Smith, Iames Cary, Brainford, Percey, Iacob Asteley, Rich. Cave, Bar. Stewart, Barnard Asteley, Theo. Gilby, Will. Leighton, Will. Murrey, Tho. Blackwell, Tho. Bellingham, Rich. Page, Bar. Jenckes, Hen. Miller, Rich. Fielding, Tho. Weston, Paul Smith, G. Mouldsworth, Phil. Honywood. Tho. Culpeper, William Leake, Io. Luntler, Io Monck, Cha. Fawlke, Rich. Samuel, Arth. Slingsby, Geo. Goring, Ioseph Wagstaffe, Tho. Basset, Charls Lloyd,

Geo. Lisley, Will. St. Leger, Hen. Lundesford, Barth. Pel, Hen. Shelley, Tho. Paulet, Tho. Kyrton, Anth. Brochet, Devery Leigh, David Stringer, Ja. Mowbray, Cha. Compton, Ed. Nott, Alex. Standish, Jo. Rider, Jo. Steward, Jo. Gambling, Jo. Grienvile, Arth. Hi-ningham, James Halwel, W. Maxwell.

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23. *To Prince* Rupert, *after the losse of* Bristol, *Aug.* 3. 1645. *From* Cardiffe.

C. R.

NEphew, this is occasioned by a Letter of yours which the Duke of *Richmond* shewed Me yester-night. And first I assure you, I have been, and ever will be very carefull to advertise you of My resolu-tions, so soon as they were taken; and if I enjoyned silence to that which was no secret, it was not My fault, for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so. Now as for your opinion of My busi-nesse, and your Counsel therenpon, if I had any other quarrell but the defence of My Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full reason for your advice. For I confesse that speaking either as a meer Souldier or Statesman, I must say there is no probability, but of My ruine; yet as a Christian I must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels and Traytors to prosper, nor this cause to be overthrown. And whatsoever per-sonall punishment it shall please Him to inflict upon Me, must not make Me repine, much lesse give over this quarrel; and there is as little question that a composition with them at this time, is nothing else but a submission, which by the grace of God I am re-solved against whatsoever it cost Me; for I know My obligation to be both in conscience and honour neither to abandon Gods cause, injure My Successors, nor forsake My friends: Indeed I cannot flatter My

self with expectation of good successe; more than this, to end my dayes with honour and a good conscience, which obligeth Me to continue My endeavours, in not despairing, that God may yet in due time avenge his own cause, though I must aver to all My friends, that he that will stay with Me at this time, must expect & resolve, either to die for a good cause or (which is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it, as the violence of insulting Rebels can make him.

Having thus truly and impartially stated My case unto you, and plainly told you My resolutions, which by the grace of God I will not alter, they being neither lightly or suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any wise to hearken now after Treaties; assuring you, that as low as I am, I will do no more than was offered in My Name at *Vxbridge*, confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be within a month in the same condition that I was immediately before the battel at *Naseby*. Therefore for Gods sake let Us not flatter Our selves with these conceits. And believe Me, your very imagination, that you are desirous of a Treaty, will but lose me so much the sooner: Wherefore, as you love Me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse hereafter according to My resolution and judgement.

As for the Irish, I assure you they shall not cheat Me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish Rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what Nation soever) more than I see by their actions. And I am sending to *Ormond* such a dispatch, as I am sure will please you and all honest Men, a copy whereof by the next opportunity you shall have. Lastly, be confident, I would not have put you nor My Self to the trouble of this long

Letter

Letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship too.

Charls R.

Cardiffe Auguſt 3. 1645.

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25. *To the Marqueſſe of* Ormond, *Iune* 11. 1646. *From* Newcaſtle.

C. R.

RIght truſty, &c. Having long with much grief looked upon the ſad condition Our Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been in theſe divers years through the wicked and deſperate Rebellion there, and the bloody effects have enſued thereupon; for the ſetling whereof We would have wholly applyed Our ſelves, if the difference between Vs and Our Subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn Vs: and not having been able by force (for that reſpect) to reduce them, We were neceſſitated for the preſent ſafety of Our Proteſtant Subjects there, to give you power and Authority to Treat with them, upon ſuch pious, honourable, and ſafe grounds, as the good of that Our Kingdom did then require. But for many reaſons too long for a Letter, We think fit to require you to proceed no further in treaty with the Rebels, nor to engage Vs upon any conditions with them after ſight hereof. And having formerly found ſuch reall proofs of your ready obedience to Our Commands, We doubt not of your care in this, wherein Our ſervice, and the good of Our Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, is ſo much concerned.

From Newcaſtle, *Iune* 11. 1646.

26. *To the Governours of His Majesties Garrisons, June* 10. 1646, *From* Newcastle

THis is added to his Majesties 24th. Message for peace, where the Reader may find it.

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26. *To the Duke of* Yorke, *July* 4. 1647. From Cawsham.

C. R.

JAMES, I am in hope, that you may be permitted, with your Brother, and Sister, to come to some place betwixt this and *London*, where I may see you.

To this end therefore I command you to aske leave of the two Houses, to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather than not to see you, I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and go back at night.

And foreseeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the Army, as I am, may be objected, to hinder this my desire,

I have full assurance from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the chief Officers, that there will be no interruption, or impediment, made by them for your return, how, and when you please. *So God blesse you.*

Cusam, July 4. 1647. *Your loving Father Charls R.*

POST-SCRIPT.

Send Me word as soon as you can, of the time, and place, where I shal have the contentment of seeing you, your Brother, and Sister.

27. *To the Marqueſſe of* Ormond, *Aprill* 3. 1646.
From Oxford.

The Reader is to take notice, that this Letter and the next, ſhould have come in after the 23, as appears by their date.

C. R.

RIght truſty, and entirely beloved Couſin, and Counſellour, We greet you well. Having uſed all poſſible and honourable means, by ſending many gracious Meſſages to the two Houſes of Parliament, wherein We have offered them all they have heretofore deſired, and deſire from them nothing but what they themſelves (ſince theſe unhappy wars) have offered, to procure Our perſonal Treaty with them for a ſafe and well grounded peace; and having inſtead of a dutifull and peaceable return to Our ſaid Meſſages, received either no anſwer at all, or ſuch as argues nothing will ſatisfie them, but the ruine not onely of Us, Our Poſterity, and Friends, but even of Monarchy it ſelf; And having lately received very good ſecurity, that We, and all that doe or ſhall adhere to Us, ſhall be ſafe in Our perſons, honours, and conſciences, in the Scottiſh Army, and that they ſhall really and effectually joyn with Us, & with ſuch as will come in unto Us, and joyn with them for Our preſervation, and ſhall imploy their Armies and Forces to aſſiſt Us to the procuring of a happy and well grounded peace for the good of Us and Our Kingdoms, in the recovery of Our juſt Right; We have reſolved to put Ourſelves to the hazard of paſſing into the Scots Army now lying before *Newarke*: And if it ſhall pleaſe God that We come ſafe thither, We are reſolved to uſe Our beſt endeavour with their aſſiſtance, and with the conjunction of the Forces under the Marqueſſe of *Montroſſe*, and ſuch of Our well-affected Subjects of *England*

England as shall rise for Vs, to procure it may be an honourable and speedy peace with those who hitherto refused to give eare to any meanes tending thereunto: of which Our resolution We held it necessary to give you this advertisment, as well to satisfie you and all Our Councel and loyal Subjects with you (to whom We will that you communicate these Our Letters) yet failing in Our earnest and sincere endeavours by Treaty, to put an end to the miseries of these Kingdoms, We esteemed Our Self obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve Our Crown and Friends from the usurpation and tyranny of those, whose actions declare so manifestly their designes, to overthrow the Laws, and happy established government of this Kingdom. And now We have made known to you Our resolution, We recommend to your special eare the disposing and managing of Our affairs on that side, as that you shall conceive most for Our honour & service, being confident the course We have taken (though with some hazard to Our person) will have a good influence on that Our Kingdom, and defer, if not altogether prevent, the Rebels transporing of Forces from them into that Kingdome. And We desire you to satisfie all Our well-affected Subjects on that side, of Our Princely care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect, as soon as God shall enable Vs. We desire you to use some means to let Vs and Our Councel at *Oxon* hear frequently from you, and of your actions and condition there. And so God prosper your loyal Endeavours.

Given at Our Court at Oxon, *April* 3. 1646.

28. *To*

28. *To the Prince of* Wales, *June* 2. 1646. *From* Newcastle.

Charles,

THis is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well; than at this time to direct you any thing, I having wrot fully to your Mother, what I would have you to do; whom I command you to obey in every thing, except in Religion; concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you; and see that you go not any whither without her or my particular directions. Let me hear often from you, and so, God bless you.

Newcastle, June 2. 1646. *Your Loving Father, Charls R.*

If *Jack Ashburnham* come where you are, command him to wait upon you, as he was wont; untill I shal send for him, if your Mother and you be together; if not he must wait on her.

Oliver Maynell.
Lanerick.

Superscribed,
For My Sonne the Prince.

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29. *To Colonell* Whaly, *Novemb.* 11. 1647. *From* Hampton-Court.

COlonell *Whaly*; I have been so Civilly used by you and Major *Huntington*, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under My hand, as also to desire the continuance of your courtesie, by your protecting of My Housholdstuffe and moveables of all sorts, which I leave behind Me in this House, that they be neither spoyled nor imbesled: Only there are three pictures here which are not mine, that I desire you to restore; to wit My Wives Picture in blew sitting in a Chair, you must send to Mrs. *Kirk*,

My

My eldest daughters Picture copied by *Belcam*, to the Countesse of Anglesey, and My Lady *Stannops* Picture to *Cary Rawly*; there is a fourth which I had almost forgot, it is the Originall of My eldest Daughter (it hangs in this chamber over the board next the Chimney) which you must send to my Lady *Aubigny*. So being confident that you wish My preservation and restitution, I rest *Your friend*,

Charls R.

I assure you it was not the Letter you shewed Me to day, that made me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that Kind; but I confesse that I am loath to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing My life. I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black Grew-Bitch to the D. of *Richmond*.

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30. *To the Lord* Mountague, *November* 11. 1647. *From* Hampton-Court: *with a Letter from* E.R. *to His Majesty, Novemb.* 9. 1647.

M*Ountague*, first I do hereby give you and the rest of your fellowes thanks for the civilities and good conversation that I have had from you; next I command you to send this My Message (which you will find upon this Table) to the two Houses of Parliament, and likewise to give a Copy of it to Colonell *Whaley* to be sent to send to the Generall: likewise I desire you to send all My Saddle-Horses to My Son the Duke of *Yorke*: As for what concerns the resolution I have taken, my Declaratory Message says so much that I refer you to it, and so I rest *Your assured Friend*,

Charls R.

May it please your Majesty,

IN discharge of My Duty I cannot omit to acquaint you, that My Brother was at a meeting last night with

with eight or nine Agitators, who in debate of the obstacle which did most hinder the speedy effecting their designs did conclude it was your Majesty, and as long as your Majesty doth live you would be so; and therefore resolved, for the good of the Kingdom to take your life away: and that to that action they were well assured, that Mr. *Dell*, and Mr. *Peters* (two of their Preachers) would willingly bear them company; for they had often said to these Agitators, your Majesty is but a dead Dog. My prayers are for your Majesties safety; but do too much fear it cannot be whilest you are in those hands.

I wish with My soul your Majesty were at My house in *Broadstreet*, where I am confident I could keep you private till this storm were over, but beg your Majesties pardon, and shall not presume to offer it as an advice; it is only my constant zeal to your service, who am

Your Majesties dutifull subject,

Novemb 9. 1647. E. R.

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31. *To Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *Novemb.* 26. 1647. *From* Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

HAving left order at Our remove from *Hampton-Court*, that a Copy should be given you, of what We had then written to both Houses of Parliament touching the causes of Our withdrawing, and the continuance of Our resolutions to improve every occasion of the satisfaction of all chief Interests, that so a happy peace may be setled in our Dominions; In pursuance whereof, we have lately sent a Message to both Houses from this place, and a copy of it to you; and being desirous in order to that blessed worke, to give you Our present sense upon the condition of affairs in the

they now stand: We have thought fit to appoint Sir *John Barkley* to repair unto you: and to communicate the same to you: And We shall be glad by him to receive a mutuall communication of your sense also, upon this subject; not doubting, but you easily perceive by the late disorders, into what a depth of confusion the Army and the Nation will fall, if timely and effectuall preventions be not used, and therefore We have now again proposed (as the onely expedient) a personall Treaty, for the composing of all differences, and fulfilling the desires of all interests, to which if you will imploy your credit, as you cannot but expect the blessings of God upon your endeavors therein; so may you justly look for the best returne that ever Our conditon shall be able to make you.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle, *Novemb.* 26. 1647.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General.

To Sir Thomas Fairfax, *Novemb.* 27. 1647.
From Carisbrook-Castle.

C. R.

THe free liberty which you willingly afforded Vs to have of the use of Our Chaplains, makes Vs at this time not onely to acknowledge your former civilities, but likewise now to acquaint you that three of Our Chaplains, to wit, Dr. *Shelden*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, and Dr. *Haywood*, are newly landed in this Isle, not doubting but they shall have the same protection that formerly they had, which still will shew the continuation of your good respect unto Vs, which We upon all fitting occasions shall not be backward to acknowledge. So We bid you heartily farewel.

Given at Carisbrook-Castle, *Novemb.* 27. 1647.

For Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Generall.

33. *To the Lords, Gent. and Committee, of the Scotch Parliament, together with the Officers of the Army; July* 3. 1648. *From* Carisbrook-Castle.

MY Lords and Gentlemen: it is no small comfort to Me, that My Native Country hath so true a sense of My present condition, as I find expressed by your Letter of the 8 of this Moneth, and your Declaration, both which I received upon Friday last; and the very same reason which makes you Discreetly and Generously at this time, forbear to presse any thing to Me, hinders Me likewise to make any particular profession unto you, lest it may be imagined that desire of liberty should now be the only Secretary to My thoughts: yet thus much I cannot but say; that in all humane reason nothing but a *free personall Treaty* with Me, can settle the unhappy distractions of these distressed Kingdoms. So, if that could once be had, I would not doubt, but that (by the grace of God) a happy peace would soon follow. Such force (I believe) true reason has in the hearts of all Men, when it may be clearly and calmly heard; and I am not ashamed, at all times to profess that it hath, and so shall be alwayes want of understanding, not of will, if I do not yeeld to reason, whencever, and from whomsoever I hear it: and it were a strange thing, if Reason should be less esteemed, because it comes from Me, which (truly) I do not expect from you: your Declaration seemiug to Me, (and I hope your Actions will prove, that I am not deceived) to be so well grounded upon *Honour* and *Iustice*; that although by way of opinion, I cannot give a *Placet* to every Clause in it; yet I am confident upon a calme and friendly Debate, We shall very well agree. To conclude; I cannot (for the present) better shew My thankfullnesse to you, for the generous and loyall

preſſe

professions of your affections to Me, than by giving ouy My honest and sincere advice; which is really and constantly, without seeking private ends, to pursue the publick professions in your Declaration, as sincere Christians and good Subjects ought to do, alwayes remembring, that as the best foundation of Loyalty is Christianity, so true Christianity teaches perfect Loyalty; for without this reciprocation, neither is truly what they pretend to be: But I am both confident that needs not to you, as likewise that you will rightly understand this, which is affectionately intended by your assured Friend,

Carisbrook, Munday 31 July 1648. *C. R.*

His MAJESTIES Private Letters to the Queen and others: With the Queens Letters to his Majesty, Intercepted and published by the Parliament: With His Majesties Letter to secretary *Nicholas* concerning the publishing of them, and part of one of his Majesties Declarations concerning the same.

Wherein do evidently appear to his Majesties Honou) (contrary to the intention of the first publishers his Majesties Princely Wisdom, and Piety, with the Reality and Truth of His publick professions; and that His ends were only the peace and happinesse of His Subjects, by their submission to His just Regall Power.

His Majestiss Letter to Secretary Nicholas, *concerning the Parliaments intercepting and publishing His Letters.* Cardiffe *Augusst the fourth*, 1645.

Nicholas,

HAving commanded your fellow Secretary to give you a full account, as well of our proceedings

here, as resolutions, I will neither trouble you nor My Self with repetitions; onely for My Self, I must desire you to let every one know, that no distresses of Fortune whatsoever, shall make Me by the grace of God, in any thing recede from those grounds I laid down to you who were My Commissioners at *Vxbridge*, and which (I thank them) the Rebels have published in print; and though I could have wished their pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are Mine, which they have set out in My Name, (only some words here and there are mistaken, and some Comma's misplaced, but not much material) nor as a good Protestant or honest man, blush for any of those papers. Indeed, as a discreet man I will not justifie My Self; and yet I would fain know him who would be wiliing, that the freedom of all his private Letters were publickly seen, as mine have now been. However, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their Fortune: It is concerning the Mungrel Parliament. The truth is, that *Sussex* his factiousnesse at that time, put Me somewhat out of patience, which made Me freely vent My displeasure against those of his party to My Wife, and the intention of that phrase was, that his Faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of base Propositions. This is clearly evidenced by My following excuse to her, for suffering those people to trouble her, the reason being to eschew those greater inconveniences which they had, and were more likely to cause here, than there. I am now going to supper, and so I rest

Your most assured Friend,

C. R.

Part of His Majeſties Declaration of June 3. 1643. concerning ſome of the ſaid Leters intercepted and publiſhed 1643.

BVt they have found a Letter of His Majeſties to the Queen, which ſhews that the great and eminent places of the Kingdom are diſpoſed of by her advice, (and then conclude from her Religion, that they are by conſequence diſpoſed of by the advice of Papiſts and Jeſuits) and that the perſons there named, even during the ſitting of Parliament, are either all impeacht by them, or bear arms againſt them. To this His Majeſty replyes: 1. That He cannot but deplore the condition of the Kingdom when Letters of all ſorts of Husbands to Wives, even of his Majeſty to His Royal Conſort are intercepted, read, brought in Evidence, and publiſht to the World. 2. That if they will remember how far many of thoſe perſons of both Sexes, who have received moſt notable marks of favour from her Majeſty, are even in their own opinion, from ſo much as inclining to Popery, they muſt confeſſe her favours and recommendations not to be diſpoſed of by Prieſts and Jeſuits. 3. That the places there named in which her Majeſties advice may ſeem to be deſired, are not places (as they call it) of the Kingdome, but private menial places, a Treaſurer of the Houſhold, a Captain of the Penſioners, and a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber; That concerning the other more publick places, His Majeſty abſolutely declares Himſelf, without leaving room for her advice, which ſeems to prove the contrary to that, which by this they intend to prove. Fourthly, That of the perſons there named, there is not one that either is a Papiſt, or ſo like one, that a Jeſuite may be thought to have recommended him, nor any one (except the Lord *Digby*) that was either impeacht, or otherwiſe taxt, or that could appear

to his Majesty to have ever been in any degree dislikt by both or either House, before assisting his Majesty against a Rebellion did lately become Treason: And whosoever considers the time and other circumstances even of that impeachment, and that their eyes were then so dazeled with Fears and Jealousies, as to take a Coach and six horses for an Army raised against them, will hardly look upon that impeachment with that reverence which hath usually been paid to accusations of that kind: And for their bearing of arms in such a time, wherein all his Majesties subjects do either bear or assist arms either for or against Him, He supposes that it will not be thought strange, if He choose persons for such places as are in his own disposall, rather out of the first sort than out of the second.

And as his Majesty hath fully answerd their observations upon His Letters, so He believes not one thing more (though unobserved by this Declaration) cannot but be observed out of them by His people; and that is, that in his Majesties most private Letters, to the person neareſt to Him, wherein He cannot (as by some of His Declarations He is) be suspected to say any thing out of design or policy, His own clear perswasions, that the Rebels, and not He, have been the cause and are the Fosterers of this Warre and universall distractions, and his sense of it, and His desire of the end of it, are so plainly expreſt, that they will by this accident be much satisfied with his Majesties innocence and reality, and believe that the reading this in such a Letter, is the very next degree to reading it in His heart.

1. *To the Queen, Jan.* 23. 1642. *Oxford*

Dear Heart,

SAturday and Sunday last, I received two from thee, of the 29 of December, 9 of Ianuary, both which, gave Me such contentment as thou mayst better judge, than I describe; the which, that thou mayest the better do, know I was full three weeks wanting but one day, without hearing from thee, besides scurvy *London* news of thy stay and lameness, which though I did not believe, yet it vext me so much the more, that I could not prove them liars; so now I conjure thee by the affections thou beares Me, not only to judge, but likewise participate with me in the contentment thou hast given Me by assuring Me of thy health and speedy returne, concerning 45. 31.7.4.132.300. I will answer thee in thy own words, *Ie le remetteray a vous respondre per bouche*, being confident that way to give thee contentment; in the mean time assure thy selfe, That I neither have, nor will loose any time in that businesse, and that I have not contented My selfe with with generalls, and though I hope shortly to have the happinesse of thy company, yet I must tel thee of some particulars in which I desire both thy opinion and assistance; I am persecuted concerning places, and all desire to be put upon thee, for the which I cannot blame them; and yet thou knowest I have no reason to do it, *Newarke* desireth *Savills* place, upon condition, to leave it when his Father dieth; *Carenworth* the same, being contented to pay for it, or give the profit to whom, or how I please: *Digby* and *Dunsmore*, for to be Captaine of the Pentioners, *Hartford* once looked after it, but now I believe he expects either to be Treasurer, or of My Bed-chamber; I incline rather to the latter if thou like it, for I absolutely hold *Cottington* the fittest man for the other. There is one

that doth not yet pretend, that doth deserve as well as any, I mean *Capel*; therefore I desire thy assistance to finde somewhat for him before he ask. One place I must fill before I can have thy opinion, It is the Master of the Wards; I have thought upon *Nicholas*, being confident that thou wilt not mislike My choice; and if he cannot perform both, *Ned Hyde* must be Secrerary, for indeed, I can trust no other. Now I have no more time to speak of more, but to desire thee not to engage thy Self for any;

Dated *Oxford.* *So I rest*
20 *Feb.* 23 *Jan.* *eternally thine,*
C. R.

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2. *To the Queen, March* 2. 1642. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

THough ever since Sunday last I had good hopes of thy happy landing, yet I had not the certaine news thereof, before yesterday, when I likewise understood of thy safe coming to *York*: I hope thou expectst not welcom from me in words, but when I shal be wanting in any other way (according to My wit and power) of expressing My love to thee, then let all honest men hate and eschew Me, like a Monster: and yet when I shall have done My part, I confesse, that I shall come short of what thou deservest of Me.

H. 3. 189. *e* 3. 42. 17. 25. 27. 39. 21. 66. *a* 1. 45. 31. 7. 4. 32. 18. 47. 46. 9. 3. *d* 4. *g.* 4. 46. 35. 67. 48. 7. 40. 54. 74. 3. 41. 7. 33. 62 8. 63. 68. 50. 64. 34. 9. 51. 45. 69. 46. 37. *deer* 45. 31. 7. 1. 33. 18. 49. 47. 19. 21. 10. 70. 13. 7. 45. 58. 8. 9. 41. 10. *this a* 2. 324. *in the mean time* 46. 31. 7. 50. *e* 3. 20. 3. 6. 8. 48. 75. 41. 9. 2. *upon* 60. 19. 50. 61. 27. 26. 7. 69. 12. 19. 47. 45. 8. 24. Yesterday there was Articles of a Cessation brought Me from *London*, but so unreasonable that I cannot grant them: yet to

un-

undeceive the people by shewing it is not I, but those who have caused and fostered this Rebellion, that desire the continuance of this war and universal distraction; I am framing Articles fit for that purpose, both which, by My next, I mean to send thee, 219.*b* 3.58.51.75.46.7.3.45.37.2.189.46.38.1.*g* 1.173.131. *Which I think fit to be done*, *a* 5.4.30.3.*n* 5.*d* 3.46.31.8.10.2.32.18.64.7.3.45.31.9.66.46.32.19.41.25.48.*k* 1.*e* 4.67.69.63. I am now confident that 173. is right for My service: Since the taking of *Cicester*, there is nothing of note done of either side, wherefore that little news that is, I leave to others; onely this I assure thee, That the distractions of the Rebels are such, that so many fine designes are laid open to Vs, We know not which first to undertake; but certainly My first and chiefest care is, and shall be to secure thee, and hasten Our meeting: So longing to hear from thee, I rest eternally thine.

Oxford, 12 *March*, 1642.

C. R.

The last I received of thine was dated the 16 *Feb.* and I believe none of My foure last are come to thee; their dates 3, 13, 15. *Feb.* and 20 *Feb.* or *March* 2.

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3. *To the Queen, February* 13. 1643.

Dear Heart,

I Never till now knew the good of Ignorance, for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape; We having had a pleasing false report, of thy safe landing at *Newcastle*; which thine of the 19 of *January* so confirmed Vs in, that We, at least were not undeceived of that hope, till We knew how great a danger thou hast past, of which I shal not be

be out of apprehension, untill I may have the happinesse of thy company, for indeed I think it not the least of My misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast runne so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to Me, that I confesse it is impossible to repay, by any thing I can do, much lesse by Words; but My heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee, out of thine own noble heart. The intercepting of mine to thee of the 23 of February has bred great discourse in severall persons, and of severall kinds, as My saying I was persecuted for places, is applyed to all, and only those that I there name to be Suitors: whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others, whom at that time I had not time to name, as wel as some there mentioned: for I confess 174 and 133 are not guilty of any fault; some find fault with too much kindnesse to thee (thou mayst easily vote from what constellation that comes) but I assure such that I want expression, not will to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions; others presse Me as being brought upon the Stage; but I answer, that having profest to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do any thing before I had it. As for Our Treaty (leaving the particulars to this inclosed) I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning My part in it, for all the souldiers are well pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of arms, for the lower House wil have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed: Lastly, for Our Military affairs, I thank God that here, and in the West they prosper well; as for the North I refer thee to 226, 140 information: So dayly expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

Copy to my Wife 13. *Feb.* 1643. A true Copy
Oxford 13. *Feb.* 1643. *Zouche Tate.*

4. To

4. *To the Queen, Ian.* 1. 1644. *Oxford.*

Oxford, Ian. 1. 1644.

DEar Heart, I receive it as a good Augure thus to begin the new year, having newly received thine of the 30 of December, which I cannot stay to decipher, for not losing this opportunity, it likewise being a just excuse for this short account; this day I dispatched *Digbie* Sec. fully relating the state of Our affairs, therefore I shall only now tell thee, that the Rebels are engaged into an equall treaty, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended, when *Tom Elliot* went hence, and that the distractions of *London* were never so great, or so likely to bring good effects, as now lastly that assistance was never more needfull, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife 1. *Ian* 1644. by *P. A.*

This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

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5. *To the Queen, Ian.* 9. 1644. *Oxford.*

Oxford, Ian. 9.

DEar Heart, since my last, which was by *Talbot*, the Scots Commissioners have sent to desire Me to send a Commission to the Generall Assembly in *Edinburgh*, which I am resolved not to do; but to the end of making some use of this occasion, by sending an honest man to *London*, and that I may have the more time for the making an handsome negative, I have demanded a passeport for *Philip Warwick* by whom to return My answer, I forgot in My former to tell thee, that *Lentall* the Speaker brags, that Cardinall *Mazarin* keeps a strict intelligence with him; though I will not swear that *Lentall* says true, I am sure it is fit for thee to know. As for *Sabrian*, I am confident that either he

he or his instructions are not right for him who is eternally thine.

Even now I am advertised from *London*, that there are three or four Lords, and eight Commons (besides four Scotch Commissioners) appointed to treat, and they have named *Vxbridge* for the place, though not yet the particular persons. I am likewise newly advertised that Generall *Goring* prospers well where he is, and since Monday last hath taken 80 of the Rebels horse & upon his advance they have quitted *Peterfield* and *Coudry*.

POSTSCRIPT.

The setling of Religion, and the Militia, are the first to be treated on: and be confident, that I will neither quit Episcopacy, nor that sword which God hath given into My hands.

Copy to my Wife 9 Jan. 1644. *By* P. A.
This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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6. To the Queen, January 14. 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

Pooly came the 12 of January, to whose great dispatch, though for some dayes I cannot give a ful answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy Letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

As I confesse it a misfortune (but deny it a fault) thy not hearing ofter from Me so excuse Me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentioneſt, if their affections were so real, as they make shew of to thee; for the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each Letter will shew My diligence, and certainly there goes no great wit to finde out wayes of sending; wherefore if any be neglected more, than Our wits are faulty; but to imagine

gine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that any body here should hide from thee what is desired that every one should know (excuse Me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it though he say it: And for my affection to thee it will not be the miscarrying of a Letter or two that will call it in question; but take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariesse of thy company, then the true image of their thoughts; and of this is not the proposall of thy journey to *Ireland*, a pretty instance? For seriously of it self, I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard, thy giving ear to it, being most assuredly onely to expresse thy love to Me, and not thy judgement in My affaires: As for the businesse it self, (I mean the peace of *Ireland*) to shew thee the care I have had of it, and the fruits I hope to receive from it; I have sent thee the last dispatches I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thy self, onely; thou maist in generall let the Queen Regent and Ministers there understand, that I have offered My Irish Subjects so good satisfaction, that a peace will shortly ensue, which I really beleeve. But for Gods sake let none know the particulars of My dispatches. I cannot but tell thee, that I am much beholding to the Portugal Agent, (and little to the French) it being by his means that I have sent thee all My Letters, (besides expresses) since I came hither, though I expected most from *Sabran*.

I will not trouble thee with repetitions of newes, Digbies *dispatch which I have seen being so full, that I can adde nothing; yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation; It is this, nothing can be more evident, then that* Straffords *innocent blood hath been one of*

the

the great causes of Gods just judgments upon this Nation by a furious civill war, both sides hitherto being almost equally punished; as being in a manner equally guilty: but now this last crying blood, being totally theirs; I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope that his hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon Us; looking now upon Our Cause, having passed by Our faults.

This is a true Copy examined by *E. Prideaux.*

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7. *To the Queen, Ian.* 22. 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

SInce My last by *Shoquen* I have had no means of writing, and as little matter: That which is now, is the progress of the Treaty; of which, these enclosed papers will give thee a full account: but if thou have them sooner from *London* than me, thou hast no reason to wonder considering the length and uncertainty of the way, I am forced to send by; in respect of the other: For the businesse it self, I believe thou wilt approve of My choise of Treaters, and for My propositions, they differ nothing in substance (very little in words) from those which were last: wherefore I need to say nothing of them; and for my instructions they are not yet made, but by the next I hope to send them; Now upon the whole matter I desire you to shew the Queen and Ministers there the improbability that this present Treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference (if not contrariety) of grounds that are betwixt the Rebells propositions and mine, and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, untill they be out of hope to prevaile by force, which a little assistance by thy means, will soon make them so; for I am confident, if I ever could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable summe of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason

Concerning Our *interferings here at Oxford* I desire thee to suspend thy judgment, (for I believe few but partiall relations will come to thee) untill I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth; it being too much trouble to Us both, to set them down in paper.

Copy to my Wife 22 *Jan.* 1644.
This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet*

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8. *To the Queen, Jan.* 30. 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

SUnday last I received three Letters from thee; one a Duplicate of the 30 of December, an other of the 5th of Jan. and the last of the 14 of Jan. and even now one *Petit* is come with a Duplicate of the last, wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love of Me, so I must extreamly wonder, that any who pretend to be a friend to Our Cause, (for I believe thou wouldest not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill Offices done to Me by any, or that they care for My assistance, hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth, that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God I never heard thee spoken of, but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love to Me, and particularly for thy diligent care for My assistance; but I am comfident that it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at, and of this I have more than a bare suspicion; And indeed, if it were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of My assistance, at least not giving Me so often account of it as I desire, these three last making no mention of thy self. Now as for the Treaty (which begins this day,) I desire thee to be confident, that I shall never

ver make a peace by abandoning My friends, nor such an one as will not stand with My honour and safety; of which I will say no more, because knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe Me, and make others likewise confident of Me.

I send thee herewith My directions to My Commissioners, but how I came to make them my Selfe without any others *Digby* will tell thee, with all the news, as well concerning Military as Cabalisticall matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things, (only not answering for words) truly shew my Self to be eternally thine.

The *Portugall* Agent hath made Me two propositions: First, concerning the release of his Masters Brother, for which I have 500001. if I can procure his Liberty from the King of *Spaine*, the other is for a marriage betwixt My Son *Charls* and his Masters eldest Daughter: For the first I have freely undertaken to do what I can, and for the other, I will *give such an answer as shall signifie nothing.*

I desire thee not to give too much credit to *Sabran* relations, nor much countenance to the Irish Agents in *Paris*, the particular reasons thou shalt have by *Pooly*, (whom I intend for My next Messenger.) In the last place I recommend to thee the care of *Gersey* and *Gernesey*, it being impossible for Us here to do much, though We were rich, being weak at Sea.

To my Wife, 30, *Jan.* 1644. By Legge.
This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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9. *To the Queen, March* 13. 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

WHat I told thee the Last week concerning a good parting with Our Lords and Commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed, and now

now if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantagious to my Self or friends in order to a Treaty, it will be merely My own fault, for I confess when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the Treaty, (knowing that there were great labourings to that purpose:) But now I promise thee, *If it be renewed, (which I believe will not without some eminent good successe on My side) it shall be to My honor & advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, Our Mungrel Parl. here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them, Wilmot* being already there, *Percy* on his way, and *Sussex* within few dayes taking his journey to thee, but that I know thou carest not for a little trouble to free Me from great inconveniences; yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to Me, I might reasonably apprehend that their repair to thee would rather prove a change, than an end of their vilanies: and I cannot deny, but My confidence in thee, was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of *March*, by which thou puts Me in hope of assistance of men and Money, and it is no little expression of thy love to Me, that (because of My businesse) Festivals are troublesome to thee; *But I see that assemblies in no Countries are very agreeable to thee*, and it may be done a purpose to make thee weary of their companies, and excuse Me to tell thee in earnest, that it is no wonder, that meer Statesmen should desire to be rid of thee; therefore I desire thee to think, whether it would not advantage thee much, to make a personall friendship with the Queen Regent, (without shewing any distrust of her Ministers, though not wholly trusting to them) and to shew her, that when her Regency comes

out (and possibly before) she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve her self by helping of thee: and to say no more, but certainly, if this Rebellion had not begun to oppresse Me when it did, a late great Queen had ended more glorious than she did. In the last place I desire thee, to give Me a weekly account of thy health, for I fear lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to expresse thy kindnesse to him who is eternally thine.

The Northern news is rather better than what We first heard, for what by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and *Montrosses* victories, *Carlile* and the rest of Our Northern Garrisons are relieved, and We hope for this year secured; and besides all this, the Northern Horse are already returned and join'd with My Nephew *Rupert*.

To my Wife, 13 *March* 1644. *by* P. A.
This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux*.

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10 *To the Queen. March* 27. 1645. *Oxford.*

Oxford, Thursday March 27.

DEar Heart, I wrote to thee yesterday by *Sakefield*; the subject of it was only kindnesse to thee, which, I assure thee shall ever be visible in all My actions: And now I come to *Iermins* account, given Me by thy Command, which is very clear, hopefull in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry. As for the main impediment of the Duke of *Lorrains* businesse (which is his passage) why may thou not procure him passage through *France* (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the Sea transportation in respect of landing on the Western Coast, which I believe will be found the best, there being not so many places to disembark on, any where else. But this is an opinion not a direction.

The generall face of My affairs me thinks begins to mend, the dissentions at *London* rather increasing than ceasing, *Montrosse* dayly prospering, My Westerne businesse mending apace, and hopefull in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder (not to exclude any other, I am confident to be in a better condition this yeare, than I have been since this Rebellion began, and possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company againe, without which nothing can be a contentment unto Me. And so farewell Dear Heart.

I intend (if thou like it) to bestow *Percies* place on the M. of *Newcastle*, to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be before I have thy answer. As for *Jack Barclay*, I do not remember I gave thee any hope of making him Mr. of the Wards: For *Cottington* had it long ago before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secretary *Nicholas*, if he then would have received it: and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I desire thee to command L. *Iev.* to read to thee the Ds. Letter which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the Transportation of the D. of *Lorrains* Army.

To my Wife 27. *March* 1645. *by* P. A.

This is a true copy examined by *Miles Corbet*.

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11. *To the Queen March* 30. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

Since my last (which was but three days ago) there are no alterations hapned of moment, preparations rather than actions being yet Our chiefest business, in which We hope that We proceed faster than the Rebels, whose levies both of men and money (for Ireland) goes on very slowly; and I believe they

are much weaker than is thought, even here at Oxford. For instance, a very honest servant of mine, and no Fool, shewed Me a Proposition from one of the most considerable *London* Rebels, who will not let his name be known unt il he have hope that his proposition will take effect; it is this, That since the Treaty is so broken off, that neither the Rebels nor I can resume it without at least a seeming total yeelding to the other, The Treaty should be renewed upon thy motion with a pre-assurance that the Rebels will submit to reason. The answer that I permitted My Servant to give, was, That thou art the much fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a worke as is the peace of this Kingdome; *but that upon no terms thy name was to be prophaned*, therefore he was to be *satisfied of the Rebels willingnesse to yeeld to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly concerning Religion and the Militia, that nothing must be insisted upon but according to my former offers.* This I believe will come to nothing yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, That most assuredly France *will be the best way for transportation of the D. of* Lorraine *Army, there being divers fit and safe places of Landing for them upon the Western Coasts, besides the Ports under My obedience, as* Shelsey *neer* Chichester, *and others, of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.*

By My next I think to tell thee when We shal march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.

To my Wife, March 30 1645. by *Petit.*

This is a true copy examined by
Edm. Prideaux.

12. *To the Queen, April* 9. 1645. *Oxford.*

The little that is here in Cypher is in that which I ſent to thee by *Pooly*.

Dear heart,

THough it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a ſlow Meſſenger, yet all occaſions of this (which now the onely) way of converſing with thee, is ſo welcom to Me as I ſhall be loath to loſe any; expect either news or publick buſines from Me, by this way of conveyance; yet judging thee by My Self, even theſe things will not be unwelcome unto thee, though I ſhould chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too ſudden taking alarms; I pray thee conſider, ſince I love thee above all earthly things, and that My contentment is unſeparably conjoyned with thine, muſt not All My actions tend to ſerve and pleaſe thee? *If thou knew what a life I lead,* (*I ſpeak not in reſpect of the continuall diſtraction*) *even in point of converſation, which in My minde, is the chief joy or vexation of ones life, I dare ſay thou wouldſt pity Me; for ſome are too wiſe, others too foliſh, ſome too buſie, others too reſerved, many fantaſtick. In a word, when I know none better* (*I ſpeak not in relation to buſineſſe*) *than* 3.9.8.270.55.5.7.67. 294.35.66.16.54.6.38.1.67.68.9.66. *thou may eaſily judge how My converſation pleaſeth Me.* I confeſs my company hath perhaps made Me in this hard to be pleaſed, but not leſſe to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this diſeaſe. The end of all is this, to deſire thee to comfort Me as often as thou canſt with thy Letters; and doſt not thou thinke, that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou ſpendeſt thine, are pleaſing ſubjects unto Me, though thou haſt no other buſineſſe to write of? be-

lieve Mé Sweet Heart, thy kindnesse is as necessary to comfort My heart, as thy assistance is for My affairs.

To my Wife 9 April 1645. by Binion.
This is a true Copy examined by *Miles Corbet.*

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13. *To the Queen, May 4. 1645. Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

THe Rebells now brutish Generall hath refused to meddle with forrain passes, so as yet I cannot dispatch *Adrian May* to thee, by the way of *London*, which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the West: and now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I could have but few melancholly thoughts, for I thank God My affairs begin to smile upon Me againe, *Wales* being well swept of the Rebels. *Farrington* having relieved himself, and now being secured by *Gorings* coming, My Nephews having likewise brought Me a strong party of Horse and Foot, these quarters are so free that I hope to be marching within three or foure dayes, and am full confident to have the start of the Rebels this yeare; am likewise very hopefull that My Sonne will shortly be in the head of a good Army, for this I have the cheerfull assurance of *Culpeper* and *Hyde*: of late I have been much pressed to make *Southampton* Master of my Horse, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that *Hamilton* might returne to a capacity of recosening Me, wherein if a had done nothing, both jealousie and discontents were like to arise, wherefore I thought fit to put My Nephew *Rupert* in that place, which will both save Me charge, and stop other mens grumblings: I have now no more to say, but praying for, & impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

To my Wife 4. May 1645. by Malin St. Ravy.
This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

14. *To the Queen, May* 14. 1644. *Droit Wiche.*

Dear Heart,

MArching takes away the conveniency of sending My Letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at *Oxford*, however I shall not faile to do what I can to send often to thee; there is so little newes for the present as I wil leave that subject for other, only upon Saturday last I received a dispatch from *Montrosse*, which assures Me his condition to be so good, that he bids Me to be confident that his Countrymen shall do me no harm this year; and If I could lend him but 500 horse, he would undertake to bring Me 20000 men before the end of this Summer. For the generall state of my affairs, We all here think to be very hopefull; this Army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing; My sons such, that *Fairfax* will not be refused to be fought with, of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himselfe. Its true that I cannot brag of any great store of money, but a sharpe sword alwayes hinders starving at least; and I believe the Rebels Coffers are not very full (and certainly We shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they) or they must have some greater defect, else their Leavies could not be so backward as they are, for I assure thee that I have at this instant many moremen in the field than they. I am not very confident what their Northern Forces are, but except they are much stronger than I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of My Sonne *Charls*, which troubles Me the more, that thou maist suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of My word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee: It is true, He hath sent a desire to Me, that Sir *John Grimsfield* may be sworne Gentleman of his Bed-

chamber, but he is already so publickly engaged in it, that the refusall would be a great disgrace both to my Son and the young Gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his Fathers merits, and his own hopefulneſſe, besides the great power that Family has in the West. Yet I have refused the admitting of him untill I shall hear from thee. Wherefore I desire thee first to chide my Son for ingaging himself without one of Our consents: then, not to refuse thy own consent: and lastly, to believe that directly or indirectly I never knew of this while yesterday at the delivery of My Sons Letter. So farewell, Sweet heart, and God send Me good news from thee.

Copy to my Wife, May 14. 1645.

This is a true Copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

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15. *To the Queen, June* 9. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

Oxford being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee than otherwise I could have expected, which makes Me believe, that My good newes will not be very stale, which in short is this, since the taking of *Leicester* My marching down hither to relieve *Oxford* made the Rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their Quarters once or twice beaten up by that Garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before *Bostol-house*; at first I thought they would have fought with Me, being marched as far as *Brackley*, but they are since gone to *Brickhil*, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be: whether by their distractions, (which are certainly very great,) *Fairfax* and *Brown* having been at Cudgels, and his men and *Cromwell* likewise at blows together, where a Captain was slain

slain, or wasting their men, I will not say: besides *Goring* hath given a great defeat to the Western Rebels, but I doe not yet know the particulars; wherefore I may (without being too much sanguine) affirm, that (since this Rebellion) My affairs were never in so fair and hopefull a way, though among Our selves We want not Our own follies, which is needlesse, and I am sure tedious to tell thee, but such as I am confident shall do no harm nor much trouble Me: Yet I must tell thee, that it is thy Letter by *Fitz-Williams*, assuring Me of thy perfect recovery with thy wonted kindnesse, which makes Me capable of taking contentment in these good successes: *For as divers men propose several recompences to themselves for their pains and hazards in this Rebellion; so thy company is the onely reward I expect and wish for.*

To my Wife 9 Iune, 1645.

This is true Copy, examined by Miles Corbet.

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16. *To the Queen, Decem.* 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

I Know thy affection to Me so truly grounded, that thou wilt be in as much (if not more) trouble, to finde My reputation, as My life in danger: therefore lest the false sound of My offering a Treaty to the Rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy minde from such rumours) to tell thee the wayes I have used to come to a Treaty, and upon what grounds. I shall first shew thee my grounds, to the end thou may the better understand and approve of My wayes; Then know (as a certaine truth) that all of My party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged Me so much the more (at all occasions) to shew My reall intentions to peace; *And likewise*

wise I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that if I could come to a fair Treaty, the Ring-leading Rebels could not hinder Me from a good peace: First, because their own party are most weary of the War, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in Religion, and General against General in point of Command: Upon these grounds a Treaty being most desirable (not without hope of good successe) the most probable means to procure it was to be used. Which might stand with honour and safety, amongst the rest (for I will omit all those which are unquestionably concealable) the sound of My return to London *was thought to have so much force of popular Rhetorick in it, that upon it a treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and be advantagious to Me: yet lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have join'd conditions with the proposition (without which this sound will signifie nothing) which thou will finde to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace.* Then observe, if a Treaty at *London* with Commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used, nor, in case they will treat with no body but my Self, so that the conditions saves any aspersion of dishonour, and the treating at *London* the malignity which our factious Spirits here may infuse into this Treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumors, and though I judge my Self secure in thy thoughts from suspecting Me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou may make others know, as well as thy self, this certain truth, That no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make Me do any thing unworthy of thy love. For the state of my present affairs I re-

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for thee to 92, concluding (as I did in My last to thee) conjuring thee, as thou loveſt Me, that no appearance of peace (and now I adde) nor hopefull condition of mine, make thee neglect to haſt ſuccour for him who is eternally thine.

Copy to my Wife, Decemb. 1644. *by* Tom Elliot.

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17. *To the Queen, January* 2. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart.

HAving decypher'd thine which I received yeſterday, I was much ſurprized to finde thee blame Me for neglecting to write to thee, for indeed I have often complained for want, never miſt any occaſion of ſending to thee; and I aſſure thee never any diſpatch went from either of My Secretaries without one from Me, when I knew of it.

As for my calling thoſe at London *a Parliament, I ſhall refer thee to* Digby *for particular ſatisfaction, this in generall; If there had been but two (beſides my Self) of My opinion, I had not done it, and the Argument that prevailed with Me, was that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them to be a Parliament, upon which condition and conſtruction I did it and no otherwayes, and accordingly it is regiſtred the Councel Books, with the Councels unanimous approbation; but thou wilt finde, that it was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou haſt been no ſooner adverti ſed of it.*

As for the concluſion of thy Letter, it would much trouble Me, if thou didſt not know thy deſire granted before it was asked; yet I wonder not at it, ſince that which may bear a bad conſtruction hath been preſented to thee in the ugliеſt form, not having received the true reaſon and meaning of it, the fear of ſome ſuch miſchance made Me the more carefull to

give

give thee a full account by *Tom Elliot*, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to *London*, which if it come soon enough I am confident will free thee from much trouble, but if thou hast not the patience to forbear judging harshly of my actions, before thou heareſt the reasons of them from Me, thou may be often subject to be doubly vext, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem Me as thou findest Me constant to those grounds thou lefts Me withall, and so fare well Dear Heart.

Copy to my Wife, 2 *Jan.* 1644 *By* P. A.
This is a true Copy, examined by *E. Prideaux.*

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18. *To the Queen, Feb.* 9. 1644. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

I Cannot yet send thee any certaine word concerning the issue of Our TREATY, onely the unreasonable stubbornes of the Rebels, gives daily less & less hopes, of any accommodation this way; wherefore I hope no rumours shal hinder thee from hastning all thou may, all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the D. of *Lorrains*; concerning which I received yesterday, good news from Dr. *Goffe*, that the P. of *Orange* wil furnish shipping for his transportation, & that the rest of his negotiation goe hopefully on, by w. & many other ways, I finde thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether (in their severall kinds) to esteem most; but I will say no more of this, lest thou may think that I pretend to doe this way, what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of My life; though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to *Argyle* by *Montrose*, who upon surprize totally routed those

those Rebels, killed 1500 upon the place. Yesterday I received thine of Ianuary 27, by the Portugall Agent, the only way (but expresses) I am confident on, either to receive Letters from thee, or to send them to thee; indeed *Sabran* sent me word yesterday, besides *some complements of the Imbargo of the Rebells ships in France* (*which I likewise put upon my score of kindnesse*) but is well enough content that the Portugal should be charged with thy dispatches. As for trusting the Rebels either by going to *London*, or disbanding my Army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in Me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at least by the sympathy that is betwixt Vs) than to put my Selfe into the reverence of perfidious Rebels. So impatiently expecting the expresse thou hast promised me, I rest eternaly thine.

I can now assure thee, that *Hertogen* the Irish Agent is an arrant Knave, which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending Pacquets.

To my Wife, Feb. 19. 1645. *by* P. A

This is a true Copy, examined by *Ed. Prideaux.*

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19. *To the Queen, Feb.* 25. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear heart,

THe expectation of an expresse from thee (as I find by thine of the 4 Febr.) is very good news to Me, as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with My diligence in writting. As for Our Treaty there is every day lesse hopes than other, that it will produce a peace. But I will absolutely promise thee, that if We have one, it shall be such as shall invite thy returne. For I vow that without thy company I can neither

have

have peace nor comfort within My selfe. The limited days for treating, are now almost expired without any the least agreement upon any one Article. Wherefore I have sent for inlargement of dayes, that the whole Treaty may be laid open to the World. And I assure thee, that thou *needst not doubt the issue of this Treaty, for my Commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatned nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which (upon my word) is according to the little Note thou so well remembers.* And in this not only their obedience, but their judgments concur. I confesse thatin some respects thou hast reason to bid Me beware of goiug too soon to *London*: for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit; of which perswasion *Percy* is one of the chiefe, who is shortly like to see thee, of whom having said this, is enough to shew thee how he is to be trusted, or believed by thee concerning Our proceedings here. In short, there is little or no appearance but that this Summer will be the hottest for Warre of any that hath been yet: and be confident, that in making peace I shall ever shew My constancy in adhering to Bishops, and all Our Friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetuall Parliament. But as thou loves Me, let none perswade thee to slacken thine assistance from him who is eternally thine,

C. R.

To my Wife 15. *Feb.* 1645. *by* P. A.
This is a true copy examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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20. *To the Queen, March* 9. 1645. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart,

NOw is come to passe what I foresaw, the fruitlesse end (as to a present peace) of this Treaty; but I am still confident, that I shall still find very good effects of

for besides that My Commissioners have offered, to no more, full measured reason, and the Rebels have stuck rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken Me prisoner, so that assuredly, the breach will light foully upon them. We have likewise, at this time discovered, and shall likewise make it evidently appear to the world, that the *English* Rebels, (whether basely or ignorantly, will be no very great difference) have as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England* to the *Scots*, which (besides the reflection it will have upon these Rebels) will clearly shew, that reformation of the Church is not the chief, much lesse the only end of the *Scotch* Rebellion; but it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, as not to use all lawfull meanes to maintaine it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for My assistance, than hitherto thou hast had: It is, that I give thee power to promise in my Name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penall lawes against the Roman Catholicks in *England* as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerfull assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it. But if thou ask what I call that assistance, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen, if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this businesse requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can expresse to thee; for it is no thank to Me to trust to thee in any thing else but in this which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt Us: *And yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for Me, even in this*, I trusting thee (though it concern Religion) as if thou wert a Protestant, the visible good of My affairs so much depending on it, I have so fully intrusted this

bearer

bearer *Pooly*, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cypher, assuring thee that none hath or shal have any copy of it but My self, to the end thou mayest use it, when thou shalt find fit to write any thing which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cypher, and to be decyphered by none but Me; and so likewise from Him to thee who is eternally thine.

To my Wife 5 *March*, 1645. *by* Pooly.

This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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21. *To the Queen, March* 20. 1642. *Oxford.*

Dear Heart

UPon Saturday last I wrote to thee by *Sabran* (but this I believe may come as soon to thee) and I have received thine of the seventh upon Monday last, which gave Me great contentment both in present and expectation, (the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance) and yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy latter dispatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For though I confesse that in this no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; & I hope thou wilt by satisfiying Me confesse the justnesse of my exception. I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God send me a good unlading) for I look dayly for some blow of importance to be given about *Taunton* or *Shrewsbury*; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from *Ireland*, likewise the refractory horse (as the *London* Rebels call them) may be reckoned in, for yet it is not knowne what fomenters they have, or whether they have none, if the latter, there is the more hope of gaining them to Me: howsoever I doubt not, but if they stand out (as it is probable) good use may be made of them. Of this I believe

lieve to give thee a perfecter account next weeke, having sent to try their pulses. *Petit* came yesterday, but he having at *London* thrust his Dispatches into the States Ambassadours Pacquets I have not yet received them, and I would not stay to lengthen this in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good Western news, knowing of an oportunity for writing to thee within these three or four dayes; onely I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy Tin-adventure at *Callis*; and so farewel Sweet heart.

Thine of the tenth I have newly received, whereby I finde that thou much mistakes Me concerning *Ir.* for I desire nothing more than a peace there; and never forbad thy commerce there; onely I gave thee warning of some *Irish* in *France*, whom I then thought and now know to be Knaves.

To my Wife 20 March, 1644. by *P. A.*
This is a true copy, examined by *Edm. Prideaux.*

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11. *To the Marquesse of* Ormond, *December* 15. 1644. Oxford.

ORMOND, I am sorry to finde by Colonel *Barry* the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot finde so good and speedy remedy as the peace of *Ireland*, it being likewise to redresse most necessary affairs here; wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand, for the doing of which I hope my publick Dispatch will give you sufficient instruction and Power, yet I have thought it necessary for your more encouragement in this necessary work, to make this addition with My own hand. As to *Poinings* Act I refer you to my other Letter: and the matter of Religon, though I have not found it

fit to take publick notice of the paper which *Brown* gave you, yet I must command you to give him my L. *Mayo*ry and *Plunket* particular thanks for it, assuring them that without it, there could have been no peace; and that sticking at it, their Nation in Generall, and they in particular should have comfort in what they have done, *and to shew that this is more than words, I do hereby promise them*, (*and command you to see it done*) *that the penal Statutes against Roman Catholicks shall not be put in execution, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience; and further, that when the Irish gives Me that assistance which they have promised, for the suppression of this Rebellion, and I shall be restored to My rights, then I will consent to the repeale of them by a law; but all those against Appeals to* Rome, *and Premunire may stand*; all this in Cypher, you must impart to none, but those three already named, and that with injunction of strict secrecy; so againe recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of *Ireland*, and my necessary supply from thence, as I wrote to you in my last private Letter, I rest.

A true Copy.
Zouche Tate.

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23. *To the Marquesse of* Ormond, *January* 7. 164[illegible]
Oxford.

Ormond,

'UPon the great rumours and expectations which are now of peace, I think it necessary to tell you the true state of it, lest mistaken reports from hence may trouble my affairs there.

'The Rebels here have agreed to Treat; and most 'assuredly, one of the first and chief Articles they 'will insist on, will be, to continue the Irish Warre *which is a point not popular for Me to breake on*; of which

are to make a double use: First, to hasten (with all possible diligence) the peace there, the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience which otherwayes I may be subject to, by the refusall of that Article, upon any other reason. Secondly, by dextrous conveying to the Irish, the danger there may be of their total and perpetuall exclusion from those favours I intend them, in case the Rebels here clap up a peace with Me, upon reasonable tearms, and only exclude them; which possibly were not counselable for Me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt Vs, before it were perfected there: these I hope are sufficient grounds for you to perswade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms, assuring them that you have once fully engaged to them My word (in the conclusion of a peace) all the earth shall not make Me break it.

But not doubting of a peace, I must againe remember you to presse the Irish for their speedy assistance to Me here, and their friends in *Scotland*; My intention being to draw from thence into *Wales* (the peace being once concluded) as many as I can of My armed Protestant Subjects, and desire that the Irish would send as great a body as they can to land about *Cumberland*, which will put those Northern Counties in a brave condition, wherefore you must take spedy order to provide all the shipping you may, as well Dunkirk as Irish Bottoms; and remember that after March it will be most difficult to transport men from *Ireland* to *England*, the Rebels being masters of the Seas: So expecting a diligent and particular account in answer to this Letter, I rest

Your assured constant Friend,

C. R.

24. *To the Marquesse of* Ormond, *February* 16. 1644. *From* Oxford.

ORMOND, I should wrong my own service, and this Gentleman Sir *Timothy Fetherston*, if I did not recommend him and his businesse to you; for the particulars of which I refer you to *Digby*: And now again I cannot but mention to you the necessity of the hastening of the Irish Peace, for which I hope you are already furnished by Me, with materials sufficient: But in case (against all expectation and reason) peace cannot be had upon those terms, you must not by any means fall to a new rupture with them, but continue the Cessation (acccording to a Postscript in a Letter by *Iack Barry*, a copy of which Dispatch I herewith send you.) So I rest.

POST-SCRIPT.

In case upon particular mens fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured, upon powers I have already given you, I have thought good to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needlesse) to seek to renew the cessation for a year, for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it no cheaper) to joyn with them against the Scots and *Inchiquin*; for I hope by that time my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept lesse, *or I be able to grant more.*

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25. *To the Marquess of* Ormond, *Feb.* 27. 1647.

Ormond,

THe impossibility of preserving my Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*, by a continuation of the war, having moved Me to give you those powers and directions, Which I have formerly done for the concluding of a peace there, and the same growing daily much

much more evident, that alone were reaſon enough for me, to enlarge your powers, and to make my commands in the point more poſitive. But beſides theſe conſiderations, it being now manifeſt that the Engliſh Rebels have (as far as in them lyes) given the command of *Ireland* to the Scots; that their aim is at a total ſubverſion of Religion and Regall power; and that nothing leſs will content them, or purchaſe peace here; I think my Self bound in conſcience not to let ſlip the means of ſetling that Kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience; nor to loſe that aſſiſtance which I may hope from my Iriſh Subjects, for ſuch ſcruples as in a leſſe preſſing condition might reaſonably be ſtuck at by Me: For their ſatisfaction I doe therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Iriſh, whatever it coſt, ſo that My Proteſtant Subjects there may be ſecured, and my Regall Authority preſerved: But for all this you are to make me the beſt bargain you can, and not diſcover your inlargement of power *till* you needs muſt. And though I leave the managing of this great and neceſſary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you, that if the ſuſpenſion of *Poinings* Act for ſuch Bils as ſhall be agreed upon between you there, and the preſent taking away of the penal Laws againſt Papiſts, by a Law will do it, I ſhall not think it a hard bargain, ſo that freely and vigorouſly they engage themſelves in My aſſiſtance againſt My Rebels of *England* and *Scotland*, for which no conditions can be too hard, not being againſt Conſcience or Honour. Copy to *Ormond*, 17. Feb. 1644.

A true copy, *Zouche Tate*.

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26. *To the D. of R.*

Richmond, I thank you for the account you ſent me by this Bearer, and have nothing of new

to direct you in, but only to remember you that my going to *West.* is not to be mentioned but upon probable hopes of procuring a Treaty with Com. there or there abouts, and that you mention the security I ask with My comming to *West.* And I hope I need not remember you to Cajole well the Independents and Scots; this bearer will tell you how well Our Western and Northern Assotiations goes on to whom I refer you for other things. I rest.

This a true Copy,

Zouche Tate

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21. *To the Lord* Jermin, *April* 24. 1645. *Oxford.*

Harry,

I Est my Wife should not yet be fit for any businesse, I write this to you; not to excuse My pains but ease hers, and that she may know but not be troubled with my kindnesse, I refer to your discretion, how far to impart my Letter to her or any other businesse, that so her health in the first place be cared for, then my affairs. And now I must tell you that undoubtedly if you had not trusted to *Digbies* sanguine Complexion (not to be rebated for sending good news) you would not have found fault with him for sending mistaken intelligence, for if he should strictly tye himself to certaine truthes in this kind, you must have nothing from him but my Proclamations or Ordinances from the pretended Houses; but tell me, can you not distinguish between what We send you upon certainty, and what upon uncertain reports, without making an Oath the mark of distinction; and are you obliged to publish all the news We send you? Seriously I think news may be sometimes too good to be told in the French Court, and certainely there is as much dexterity in publishing of news, as in matters which at first sight may seem of greater difficul-

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ty: for as I would not have them think that all assistance bestowed upon Me were in vaine, so I would not have them believe that I needed no help, lest they should underhand assist any Rebels to keep the ballance of dissention amongst Vs equalls.

For matter of News and present state of my affairs I referre you to *Digby*, only this in generall, that if it shall please God to assist Vs but this year half so miraculously as he did the last (My present state compared with what it was this time twelve moneth) I am very hopefull to see a joyfull harvest before next Winter: nor do I thinke this in any humane probability possibile; except my Wife can procure Me considerable assistance both of men and money; of which I conceive little reason to dispaire, yours giving me good hope, concerning *Lerrain*, and though I say not, that, for the other, I have so good an author, as 196, yet I hope you will not much blame my confidence, when 149 in hers the ten of *March*, says, *Iay uno Affaire, assures que vous donne* 40000 *Pistols que Ie vous enssi envoye si I' enssi la mon navier revenu avec l' estair.*

In the last place I will impose that upon you, that it is not reasonable to expect from my Wife, which is to give me a continuall account, what Letters she receives from me, and what miscarries or comes slowly, to which end take notice, that all my Letters to her are numerarily marked on the top as this with 37, and likewise I now begin the same with you: so farewel.

In your next let me know particularly how my Wife is, which though it be not as I would have have it, yet the perfect knowledge, will hinder me to imagin her worse than she is, if well, then every word will please me. I have commanded *Digby* to write freely concerning *Will. Murry*, which I hold to be necessary as concerning *Montrosse* businesse.

To the L. Jermin, 24 *Aprill* 1645. *concerning* France.

This is a true copy examined by *M. Corbet.*

To

28. *The Queen to the King, March* 30. 1643. *York.*

My dear heart,

I Need not tell you from whence this Bearer comes; onely I will tell you, that the Propositions which he brings you are good, but 260. I believe that it is not yet time to put them into execution: therefore finde some means to send them back, which may not discontent them, and do not tell who gave you this advice. Sir *Hugh Cholmley* is come with a Troop of Horse to kisse my hand: the rest of his people he left at Scarborough, with a ship laden with arms, which the Ships of the Parliament had taken and brought thither, so she is Ours; the Rebels have quitted Tadcaster upon Our sending forces to Wetherby, but they are returned with twelve hundred men: We send more forces to drive them out, though those We have already at Wetherby are sufficient, but We fear lest they have all their forces thereabout, and lest they have some designe; for they have quitted Selby and Cawood, the last of which they have burnt; Between this and to morrow night We shall know the issue of this business; and I wil send you an expresse: I am more carefull to advertise you of what you do, that you and We may finde means to have passe-ports, to send: and I wonder, that upon the Cessation you have not demanded that you might send in safety: this shews my love: I understand to day from London, that they will have no Cessation, & that they treat at the beginning of the two first articles, which is of the forts, ships, and Ammunition, and afterwards of the disbanding of the Army: Certainly, I wish a peace more than any, and that with greater reason: But I would the disbanding of the perpetuall Parliament, first: and certainly the rest will be easily afterwards. I do not say this of My own head alone: for generally both

those

those who are for you and against you in this Country, wish an end of it: and I am certain, that if you do demand it at the first, in case it be not granted, *Hull* is Ours, and all Yorkshire, which is a thing to consider of: and for my particular, if you make a peace and disband your Army, before there is an end to this perpetuall Parliament, I am absolutely resolved to go into *France*, not being willing to fall againe into the hands of those people, being well assured, that if the power remain with them, that it will not be well for me in *England*; remember what I have written to you in three precedent Letters, and bee more carefull of me than you have been, or at the least dissemble it; to the end that no notice be taken of it. Adieu: the man hastens me, so that I can say no more.

York, March 30.

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29. *The Queen to the King, June* 27. 1643. *Newark.*

My Dear Heart,

I Received just now your Letter by my Lord *Savile*, who found Me ready to goe away, staying but for one thing, for which you will well pardon two dayes stop, it is to have *Hull* and *Lincoln*; young *Hotham* having been put in Prison by order of Parliament, is escaped, and hath sent to 260 that he would cast himself into his arms, and that *Hull* and *Lincoln* should be rendred, he is gone to his Father, and 260 writes for your answer, so that I think I shall goe hence Friday or Saturday, & shall go lie at *Werton*, and from thence to *Ashby*, where we will resolve what way to take, & I will stay there a day, becaus that the march of the day before, will have been somewhat great, and also to know how the Enemy marches: all their forces of *Nottingham* at present being gon to *Leicester*, &

Derby

Darby, which makes Vs believe, that it is to intercept Our passage, as soon as we have resolved, I will send you word, at this present I think it fit to let you know the state in which we march, and what I leave behind me for the safety of *Lincolnshire* and *Nottinghamshire*: I leave 2000 Foot, and wherewithall to arm 500 more, 20 companies of horse, all this to be under *Charls Cavendish* whom the Gentlemen of the Country have desired me not to carry with me, against his will, for he desired extreamly not to go. The Enemy have left within *Nottingham*, 1000 I carry with me 3000 Foot, 30 Companies of Horse and Dragoons, 6 peeces of Canon, and two Morters, *Hary Iermin* commands the forces which go with me, as Colonell of my guard, and Sir *Alexander Lesley* the Foot under him, and *Gerard* the Horse, and *Robin Legge* the Artillery; and her she Majesty Generalissima, and extreamly diligent with 150 Wagons of Baggage to govern in case of battell, have a care that no Troop of *Essex* his Army incommoderate Us: for I hope that for the rest We shall be strong enough, for at *Nottingham* We have had the experience, 1 of Our Troops having beaten 6 of theirs, and made them fly. I have received your Proclamation or Declaration, which I wish had not been made, being extreamly disadvantagious for you, for you shew to much feare and do not what you had resolved upon. Farewell my dear heart.

The Queen to the King 27 Iune, 1643.

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30 *The Queen to the King Aprill* 3. 1644.

THis Letter should have gone by a man of Master Denedsdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of this Letter was upon this Subject: and therefore by this man it signifies nothing but the end was so pleasing that I do not forbear to send it to you. You now know by

by *Elliot* the issue of the business of *Todcaster*, since we had almost lost *Scarborough*, whilest *Cholmly* was here, *Brown Bushell* would have rendred it up to the Parliament: But *Cholmley* having had notice of it, is gone with our Forces, and hath re-taken it; and hath desired to have a Lieutenant and Forces of ours to put within it, for which we should take his; he hath also taken two Pinaces from *Hotham*, which brought 44 men to put within *Scarborough*, 10 peeces of Canon, 4 barrels of powder, and 4 of bullet. This is all our news: Our Army marches to morrow to put an end to *Fairfaxs* Excellency, and I will make an end of this Letter, this third of Aprill. I have had no news of you since *Parsons*.

A true Copy. P. W.

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31. *The Queen to the King Aprill* 21. 1644. *Bath.*

My Dear Heart,

Red. Cornwallis will have told you all our voyage as farre as *Adbury*, and the state of my health: Since my coming hither, I find my selfe ill, as well in the ill rest that I have, as in the increase of my Rhume.

I hope that this days rest will do me good: I go to morrow to *Bristoll*, to send you back the Carts; many of them are already returned: My Lord *Dillon* told me, not directly from you, though he sayes you approve it, that it was fit I should write a Letter to the Commissioners of *Ireland* to this effect, That they ought to desist from those things for the present, which they had put in their paper, and to assure them that when you shal be in another condition than you are now, that you will give them contentment.

I thought it to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command; there-

therefore if it pleaſe you that I ſhould do ſo, ſend me what you would have me write, that I may not doe more than you appoint: And alſo that it being your command, you may hold to that which I promiſe: for I ſhould be very much grieved to write any thing which I would not hold to, and when you have promiſed it me, I will be confident. I believe alſo, that to write to my Lord *Muskery* without the reſt will be enough; for the Letter which I ſhall write to him ſhall be with my own hand: and if it be to all your Commiſſioners, it ſhall be by the Secretary. Farewell my dear heart, I cannot write any more, but that I am abſolutely Yours.

A true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

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32. *The Queen to the King, December 6. 1644. Paris.*

Paris, January, I have received one of your Letters, dated from *Marleborow* of an old date, having received many others more freſh, to which I have made anſwer: I will ſay nothing concerning this but onely concerning the affair of (*Gor.*) If it be not done, it is time, being very ſeaſonable at this time, which I did not believe before. I underſtand that the Commiſſioners are arrived at *London*; I have nothing to ſay, but that you have a care of your Honour; and that if you have a peace, it may be ſuch as may hold, and if it fall out otherwiſe, *that you do not abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, for fear they do forſake you in your need.* Alſo I do not ſee how you can be in ſafety without a Regiment of Guard; for my ſelfe I think I cannot be *ſeeing the malice which they have againſt me, and my Religion, of which I hope you will have a care of both*: but in my opinion Religion ſhould be the laſt thing upon which you ſhould treat; *For if you do agree upon ſtrict-*

neſs

wise against the Catholicks, it would discourage them to serve you: and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland, *or any other Catholick Prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you have served your self.* I have dispatched an expresse into *Scotland*, to *Montrosse*, to know the condition he is in, and what there is to be done. This week I send to Mr. of *Lorrain*, and into *Hol.* I lose no time; if I had more of your newes all would go better. Adieu my Dear Heart.

A true copy. *Zouche Tate.*

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33. *The Queen to the King, January* 27. 1644.

PARIS.

Paris January 17. My Dear Heart, *Tom Elliot* two dayes since hath brought me much joy, and sorrow: the first, to know the good estate in which you are: the other, the fear I have that you goe to *London*. I cannot conceive where the wit was of those who gave you this counsell, unlesse it be to hazard your person to save theirs: but thanks be to God, to day I received one of yours by the Ambassadour of *Portugall* dated in Ianuary, which comforted me much to see that the Treaty shall be at *Vxbridge*: For the honour of God trust not your self in the hands of these people; And if you ever goe to *London* before the Parliament be ended, or without a good Army, you are lost. *I understand that the propositions for the peace must begin by disbanding the Army; if you consent to this, you shal be lost*, they having the whole powr of the *Militia*, they have done and will doe whatsoever they will. *I received yesterday Letters from the D. of Lorrain, who sends me word, if his service be agreeable to you, he wil bring you ten thousand men*: Dr. *Goffe* whom I have sent into *Holland* shall treat with him in his passage upon this

busineſſe;

buſineſſe; and I hope very ſpeedily to ſend you good news of this, as alſo of the money. Aſſure thy ſelf I will be wanting in nothing you ſhall deſire; and that I will hazard my life, that is, to dy by famine, rather than not to ſend to you. Send me word alwaies by whom you receive my Letters for I write both by the Ambaſſadour of *Portugall* and the Reſident of *France*. Above all have a care not to abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, as well the Biſhops as the poor Catholicks. Adieu. You will pardon me if I make uſe of another to write, not being able to do it; yet my ſelf in Cyphers ſhew to my Nephew *Rupert* that I intreat you to impart all that I write to you, to the end that he may know the reaſon why I write not to him; I know not how to ſend great packets.

My Wife 17 *Ian.* 1644.

A true Copy, *Zouche Tate.*

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34. *The Queen to the King*, *March* 13. 1644.

Paris.

Paris this 13. of March. My Dear Heart, Since my laſt, I have received one of your letters marked 16. by which you ſignifie the receipt of my Letters by *Pooly*, which hath a little ſurpriſed me, ſeeming to me that you write as if I had ſomething in my Letter which had diſpleaſed you; if that hath been, I am very innocent in my intention. I only did believe that it was neceſſary you ſhould know all. There is one other thing in your Letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to my ſelfe your Diſpatches, as if you believe that I ſhould be capable to ſhew them to any, which is only to Lord *Jermin* to uncypher them, my head not ſuffering me to do it my ſelf: but if it pleaſe you I will do it, and none in the World ſhall ſee them: be kinde to Moe or you kill

me: I have already affliction enough to bear, which without you I could not doe, but your service surmounts all: farewell my Dear Heart: behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest †; and I pray begin to remember what I spake concerning *Iack Barkly* for Mr. of the Wards; I am not ingaged nor will not be for the places of L. *Per.* and others, do you accordingly.

13 *March* 1644.

Oxford. *Feb.* 1644.

35. *Memorials for Secretary* Nicholas, *concerning the Treaty at* Uxbridge.

FIrst for Religion and Church-government I will not goe one jot further than what is offered by you already.

2 And so for the *Militia* more than what ye have allowed by Me but even in that you must observe that I must have free nomination of the full half; as if the total number Scots and all be thirty, I will name fifteen; yet if they, (I mean the English Rebels) will be so base as to admit of ten Scots to twenty English, I am contented to name five Scots and ten English, and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreed upon.

3 As for gaining of particular persons besides security, I give you power to promise them rewards for performed services, not sparing to engage for places; so they be not of great trust, or be taken away from honest men in possession, but of as much profit as you will: with this last you are only to acquaint *Richmond*, *Southampton*, *Culpeper*, and *Hide*.

This is a true Copy. *Zouche Tate.*

Directions

31. *Directions for* Uxbridge *Commissioners.*

First concerning Religion.

IN this the government of the Church (as I suppo
will be the chief question, wherein two things are
be considered, Conscience and Policy. For the firs
must declare unto you, that I cannot yeeld to the ch
of the Government by Bishops; not only as I fully c
cur with the most generall opinion of Christians in
Ages, as being the best, but likewise I hold my
particularly bound by the Oath I took at my Coron
on, not to alter the government of this Church fr
what I found it. And as for the Churches Patrimon
I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it,
ing without peradventure Sacrilege, and likewise
trary to my Coronation Oath, but whatsoever sha
offered, for rectifying of abuses, if any hath crept
or yet for the ease of tender Consciences (so that it
mage not the foundation) I am content to hear, and
be ready to give a gracious answer thereunto. For the
cond, as the Kings duty is to protect the Church,
it is the Churches to assist the King, in the mainten
of his just authority; wherefore my Predecessors
been allwayes carefull (and especially since the Re
mation) to keep the dependency of the Clergy imm
upon the Crown; without which it will scarcely sit
upon the Kings head; therefore you must do nothing
change or lessen this necessary dependency.

Next concerning the Militia.

After Conscience, this is certainly the fittest subje
for a Kings quarrell; for without it the Kingly pow
is but a shadow; and therefore upon no means to
quitted, but to be maintained according to the anci
know

Lawes of the Land: (yet because to attain to much wished for peace by all good men) it is manner necessary, that sufficient and real secu- be given for the performance of what shall be upon, I permit you, either by leaving strong ns or other Military force into the Rebels pos- (until Articles be performed) to give such as- ce for performance of conditions as you shall necessary for to conclude a peace: provided al- that ye take (at least) as great care by suffici- curity, that conditions be performed to Me: *And be sure that the peace once settled, all things shall into their antient Chanels.*

Thirdly for *Ireland.*

confesse they have very specious popular Argu- to presse this point, the gaining of no Article concluding to their ends than this: And I have reason both in honour and policy to take how to answer this as any: all the world knows minent inevitable necessity which caused Me to the Irish Cessation, and there remaine yet as reasons for the concluding of that peace; where- you must consent to nothing to hinder Me there- until a clear way be shown Me, how My Prote- subjects may probably (at least) defend them- and that I shall have no more need to defend Conscience and Crown from the injuries of this Re- on.

A true Copy.

Zouche Tate.

At *Uxbridge* on Wednesday the 29 of January, the Protestation underwritten was unanimously consented unto, and taken by all his Majesties Commissioners appointed to treat there, touching a well-grounded peace.

I *A. B.* being one of the Commissioners assigned by his Majesty for the present Treaty at *Uxbridge*, do protest and promise in the sight of Almighty God, that I will not disclose nor reveale to any person or persons whatsoever (who is not a Commissioner) any matter or thing that shall be spoken of during the Treaty, by any one, or more of his Majesties Commissioners in any private debate amongst our selves, concerning the said Treaty, so as to name or describe directly or indirectly the person or persons that shall speak any such matter or thing, unlesse it be by the consent of all the said Commissioners that shall be then living.

Memorandum, that it is by all the said Commissioners agreed, that this shall not binde, where any ten of the Commissioners shall agree to certifie his Majesty the number of the Assenters or Dissenters, upon any particular result, in this Treaty, not naming or describing the persons.

This is a true copy, examined by *Zouche Tate*.

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37. *Instructions for Colonell* Cockram, *to be pursued in his negotiations to the King of* Denmark.

YOu are to inform the King of *Denmark*, that by his Majesties command, as to the neareſt ally of his Crown, his Unkle, and who he believes will not be unconcerned in his affairs, as well in interests as affec-

...d, you are sent to give a particular account of the ... of his Majesties affairs, to renue the antient League ... Amity that hath been between the two Kingdoms, ... Families Royall; and to reduce it to more exact par-...culars, such as might be usefull to the present affairs of *England*, and all occurrences in the future of those of *Denmark*.

That the present affair of your negotiation, is to de-...nd an assistance from his Majesty, such an one as the ...sent state of the affairs of *England* requires, against a ...gerous combination of his Majesties Subjects, who ... not only invaded his Majesty in his particular ...hts, but have laid a design to dissolve the Monarchy ... frame of Government, under pretences of Liberty & ...ligion, becomming a dangerous precedent to all the ...narches of Christendom to be looked upon with suc-...e to their designe.

That the nature of their proceedings hath been such ... hath not admitted any forraign treaty to be interessed ...suppressing their designe, without giving them ad-...tage of Scandalling his Majesties intentions, and ...wing away universally the hearts of his people, whom ... had insinuated under pretence of Reformation of ...ticular abuses of Government, and Ministers of Estate, ...concur genrally with approbation of their proce-...dings, and in which (though the dangerous consequence ... design were visible to his Majesty) a present compli-... was necessary, lest any publick opposition on his ...jesties part, that might seem to defeat the great expe-...tions which they had raised in the Commons in those ...sible particulars might have occasioned a generall ...volt throughout the Kingdoms, great jealousies ... dispersed and fomented amongst them of his Ma-...ties Forraign Treaties and Force, to be used to op-...se and suppresse those their desires and the movers ...of.

Vpon the credit they had herewith on the peoples opinions, they proceeded under pretence of Reformation of Religion to dissolve the Government of the Church, according to its constitution in *England*, a chief column and support to that Monarchy and Crown.

They lastly invaded his Majesty in all the Prerogatives of his Crown, and under pretence of ill Ministers and counsellours of Estate, whom they pretended to remove, endeavoured to invest in themselves in all times for the future the nomination of all Ministers of Estate, and of his Majesties Family; withdrew all His Reuenue into their own hands, and to confirme themselvs in an absolute power of disposing His estate, entred upon possessing themselves of the Militia of the Kingdom, His Navy and Magazines, in which his Majesty being forced to appear in opposition, dangerous Tumults were raised against Him, so that He was forced to forsake *London*, for preservation of His person, His Queeen, and Children.

That since, for the safety of the Queen He hath been forced to send her into *Holland*, to retire Himself to the best affected party of His Subjects, from whence by Declarations setting forth the finister proceedings of that Faction, discovering their designs of innovating the government, and falsifying the scandals they had imputed to Him, He hath had the advantage generally to undeceive His people, to draw to Him universally the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. But the other Faction still keeping up some interest and credit with the Commons, in the desperate estate they find themselves, begin to make head against Him, have appointed a Generall, and are levying Forces to maintaine their party, committing divers acts of hostility, violence, and Rebellion.

That his Majesty having great encouragements

Him by the exceeding numbers of Gentry and
blemen that reſort to Him, is already advanced
them with 6000 Horſe, and 10000 Foot.

That the States of *Holland* have condeſcended to
her Majeſty, the Q. a convoy of the greateſt part
their Fleet now at Sea, for her return into *England*.

That divers Forts and Counties upon His Ma eſties
onal appearance, have declared for Him, ſo that
affairs at home grow daily into a better eſtate, as
likewiſe expects and hopes, that all His Neighbour
ces and Allies, will not looke upon ſo dangerous a
ident to their own Crowns and Monarchies, with-
contributing to ſuppreſſe this ſo pernicious a de-
, begun within His Kingdom.

That to give his Majeſty the juſter ground to reflect
the dangerous conſequences, in relation to His
intereſt, of their ſucceſſe, It hath been by them
blickly moved in the Commons Houſe long ſince, to
erpoſe in the accommodation of the *Dutch*, and to
out a Fleet, to take away His Cuſtoms of the *Sound*.

That they have ſince imputed to his Majeſty as a
und to ſcandal Him with His people, that He did
gotiate, the introducing by his Uncle the King of
mark, a forrain power, to ſettle His affairs; & under
pretext have given large Commiſſion, and parti-
inſtructions to the Fleet, to viſit, ſearch, and in-
ept all ſuch *Daniſh* ſhips at they ſhould meet, & to
with, ſink or deſtroy, all ſuch as ſhould reſiſt them,
permittiug the ſame, or to take & detaine them, ha-
any arms or ammunition on board; according to
ch they have ſearched, viſited, and detained divers,
the great prejudice and interruption of the *Norway*
de driven commonly in this Kingdome, in their
bottoms: And that they did prepare force a-
ſt others, whom they permitted not to water, nor
other accommodation, being bound for the *Weſt-*

Indies, and put in by ſtreſſe of weather in the West
England.

That in purſuance of their great deſign of extirpa
the Royall blood, and Monarchy of *England*, they h
endeavoured likewiſe to lay a great blemiſh upon H
Royall family, endeavouring to illegitimate all deri
from His Siſter, at once to cut off the intereſts and pr
tentions of the whole Race, which their moſt deteſt
and ſcandalous deſigne they have purſued, examin
witneſſes, and conferring circumſtances, and times,
colour their pretentions in ſo great a fault: and wh
as His ſacred Majeſty of *England* in the true ſenſe
honour of his Mother, doth abhor, and will puni
ſo he expects his concurrence, in vindicating a Siſter
ſo happy memory, and by whom ſo near an union, a
continued league of amity hath been produced betw
the Families and Kingdoms.

That the particulars in which his Majeſty doth deſi
his aſſiſtance, are, in the loan, and raiſing of Men, M
ney, Arms, and ſhips, all or ſuch of them as may co
ſiſt beſt with the convenience of his own affairs: and
ſuch in the firſt place as may be moſt requiſite and
wanting to his Majeſty.

That to ſet His levies on foot, & put him in a poſture
protect his Subjects in all places that adhere to him
and receive their contribution, 100000 li. will be n
ceſſary for him, which his Majeſty deſires by way
loan. And for the reſtitution of it, beſides his King
word, and ſolemn engagement, upon this treaty, he
contented of ſuch his Crown jewels as are in his diſp
ſure to leave His Royall pledge, if it ſhall be de
red.

The particulars of arms that he deſires, are 600
Muſquets, 1500 Horſe-arms, and 20 pieces of Artill
mounted.

Aſſiſtance of men, he deſires onely in Horſemen

know in what time they may be ready, and how

That the Holy Island or *Newcastle* are designed for landing of the said horse, and Magazin of the said visions, for reception likewise, and protection of his ships as he shal think fit to imploy for the countance and security of those his Subjects that shall trade these Coasts, and for ascertaining the correspondcy and intelligence between the two Kingdoms; in ch the number is left to be proportioned as may best and agree with his own affairs. And for which the ly Island is conceived one of the aptest Harbours in al Majesties Dominions, being capable of any ships atsoever, in a very great proportion, an excellent road the entrance, a ready out-let, and a strong Fort unhis Majesties command.

That in lieu of this assistance contributed by the King *Denmark*, his Majesty will oblige himself, and tifie in expresse Articles to restore into the Magaes of *Denmarke*, a like proportion of Arms and ammuion, to repay & defray the charges of the money lent, levies of Horse, and as soon as his affairs shall be led, and himself in a condition to do it, upon all ocsions to contribute the assistance of his Fleet, in mainning his Right and Title to the Customes of the *nd*, against all persons whatsoever; and to ratifie Treaty that was made last by Sir *Thomas Roe*, to ter into a League offensive and defensive, against inline Rebellions. In pursuance of which Treaty, while negotiations and Articles may be severally perfected, Majesty doth expect this first supply of monies, and Arms, present affairs not admitting a delay in the ime.

That in case the King of *Denmark* will lend money jewels, there is in *Holland* a great Collar of Ru-, and another of Rubies and Pearl, that may be

sent to him, or delivered to his Agent here; [illegible] may have order to pay the money here; or any other Jewels.

That there have been in discourses, severall Propositions of Accommodation made by them to the King, to which the King hath at all times made more advances on His part, than in reason could have been expected from Him, and the difficulties have still risen on theirs

And that whereas His Majesty doth understand, that a person is addressed to the King of *Denmark* from his Parliament, to insinuate misunderstandings abroad with his Majesties Allies, as they have done at home among His people, his Majesty expects that he be neither received, nor permitted to remain within His Dominions, to become an Intelligencer and Spy upon the Treaty and Negotiations between their Majesties, but that he be dismist and sent away so soon as ever he shall arrive.

Note, this paper concerning *Cockram* was not intercepted amongst the Kings Letters, but is otherwise attested.

His Majesties Answer to a Pamphlet, Intituled, A Declaration of the Commons of England *in Parliament assembled, expressing their reasons and grounds of passing the late resolutions touching no further Addresse or Application to be made to the KING.*

Published by His Majesties appointment.

I Believe that it was never heard of untill now, that heavy imputations were laid on any Man (I speak not, now, of Kings, which I confesse makes the cause yet,

more ſtrange and unjuſt) and He not permitted
ee, much leſſe to anſwer them: but ſo it is now
th the KING, which does (though ſilently) yet
ject Him to as great an Imputation, as there is any
the ſaid Declaration; for thoſe who know no bet-
, may think that He cannot, becauſe He does not,
ſwer it: Wherefore I hold it my duty (knowing
eſe things better than every ordinary Man) to do
y beſt, that the KING ſhould not be injured, by
e ignorance of His people: and albeit, I (lying
der perſecution, for my Conſcience, and Love to
egall Authority) have not the means, in every thing,
make full Probations; yet, I am confident, in all
e moſt material points, for to make the truth, of the
INGS innocency, appear, that I ſhall ſatisfie any im-
rtial judicious Reader.

What the iſſue of former Addreſſes to the KING
th been, is moſt certainly known to all the World;
, where the Faults reſt, whereby peace hath not
ſued, bare Aſſeverations, without proofs, cannot I
m ſure, ſatisfie any Iudicious Reader. And indeed,
t ſeems to me, that the Penner of this, ſeeks more
o take the ears of the ignorant Multitude with big
ords, and bold Aſſertions, than to ſatisfie rationall
en with reall proofs or true arguments. For, at the
ry firſt he begs the Queſtion; taking it for granted,
at the KING could eaſe the *ſighs* and *groans*, dry the
ears, and ſtanch the *blood* of his diſtreſſed Subjects:
las! is it he that keeps Armies on Foot, when there
none to oppoſe? Is it He, that wil not lay down Exciſe,
axations, & Free-Quaterings? But, it is He indeed, who
s ſo far from power, even at that time, (being far worſe
ce) that, in moſt things, He wanted the liberty of any
eborn man: It is He, who never refuſed to eaſe his peo-
e of their grievances; witneſs more Acts of grace paſſed
s reign, than (to ſpeak within my compaſs) in any five
Kings

Kings or Queens times) that ever were before Him: moreover, It is He, who, to settle the present unhappy distractions, and (as the best means to it) to obtain a personall Treaty, hath offered so much, that (to say truth) during His owne time, He hath left Himself little more than the title of a KING; as it plainely appears by His Message from the Isle of *Wight*, concerning the *Militia*, and choosing the Officers of State, and Privy Counselours; besides other points of complyance which it is needlesse here to mention.

Good God! are these *Offers unfit for them to receive?* Have they *tendred such propositions, that might occasion the World to judge that they have yeelded up, not only their Wils and affections, but their reasons also, and judgments, for obtaining a true peace or good accommodation?* It is true, that if they can shew, what, reasonably they could have asked more; or, wherein the KINGS offers were deficient (either in point of security, or by withholding from any of His Subjects a jot of their just privileges) then, they said somewhat, to challenge belief: But, bare Asseverations, even against what a Man sees, will not get credit with any, but such who abandon their judgments to an implicit Faith: Nor can the determinations of all the Parliaments in the World make a thing just or necessary, if it be not so of it self: And can it be imagined, that any, who were ever acquainted with the passages at the Treaties of *Oxford* and *Vxbridge*, will believe (though it be said) that *the propositions tendred at* Newcastle, *were the same in effect which had been presented to the King before in the midst of all His strength and Forces?* Indeed me thinks such grosse slips as these, should at least, make a man be wary, how to believe such things, for which he sees no proofs: and yet it should seem, that a man must either take their words, for good payment, or remain unsatisfied for; a little after it is said,

That *the Kings ſtrange, unexpected, and conditionall Anſwers or Denials might juſtly have made them conſider ſome other courſe for ſetling the Kingdom in peace and ſafety without any further application*; but never ſhew, wherein the ſtrangeneſſe of His Anſwers or Denyalls conſiſts: and I ſhould think, that thoſe Reaſons, upon which the laying by of a KINGS authority is grounded (for it is no leſſe) ought to be particularly mentioned, for the Worlds ſatisfaction, and not involved in generall big words: for it thereby ſeems, that it is their force of arms, more than that of Reaſon, which they truſt to, for procuring of obedience to their Determinations, or belief to what they ſay: Otherwayes, can it be imagined, that their ſaying, That *their laſt Propoſitions were to be qualified, that (where it might ſtand with the publick ſafety) the worſt Scruples or Objections were prevented or removed*, can give ſatisfaction to any rationall man, who hath ſeen all their former propoſitions? For, it is moſt evident, that their demands have alwayes encreaſed with their good Fortune.

And for their great Condiſcention to a *Perſonall Treaty* (which under favour, can ſcarcely be called ſo; for the KING though he had granted what was deſired, was not to come, neither to nor near *London*, but to ſtay in the Iſle of *Wight*, and there to treat with Commiſſioners) upon ſigning the four Bils; Surely, they incurred therein, but little danger; for it is moſt evident, that they contain the very Subſtance of the moſt eſſentiall parts of their demands; which being once granted, the KING would neither have had power to deny, nor any thing left worth the refuſing; for after He had confeſſed, that He had taken up Arms, to invade the Liberty of His people, (whereas it was only for the defence of His owne Rights) and had Likewiſe condemned all thoſe, who had

had faithfully served Him, of Rebellion; and that He had totally divested Himself, His Heirs, and Successours for ever, of the power of the Sword; whereby the protection of His Subjects (which is one of the most essentiall and necessary Rights belonging to Regall Authority) is totally torn away from the Crown: and that by a silent Confession, He had done Himself and Successors, an irreparable prejudice concerning the great Seale (I speak not of the other two Bills, neither of which are of little importance) what was there more for Him to grant (worth the insisting upon) after such Concessions? or, indeed, what power was left Him to deny any thing? So that the KINGS necessity of giving the Answer He did (for it was no absolute refusall) is most evident; unlesse, Hee had resolved to have lived in quiet, without Honour; and to have given His people peace, without safety; by abandoning them to an arbitrary and unlimited power of the two Houses, for ever, concerning the Levying of Land or Sea Forces, without stinting of Number, or distinction of persons; and for paymen·s, to leavy such sums of monies in such sort, and by such wayes and means, as they shal think fit and appoint. And now I cannot but aske; is this the Militia that the KING contends for? or, did ever any King of *England* pretend to, or seek for such a power? surely no: But, this is a new *Militia*, and take heed, lest this should prove like the Roman *Prætorian Cohorts*, that what t·ey did in choosing and changing Emperours, these do not to this Government, by moulding and alter·ing it according to their fancies. Now, my eagerneſse to clear this point concerning the four Bills, had almost made me forget a most material Qu·stion: I wonder much wherein the danger consists of a personal Treaty with the KING; ever since He was last at *Newcastle*?

...caſtle? Surely He cannot bring Forces along with Him, to awe His two Houſes of Parliament: and it is well known that He hath not Money to raiſe an Army: and truly, there is as little feare, that the eloquence of His Tongue ſhould work Miracles; but on the contrary, if Hee were ſo ill a Man, as you deſcribe Him to be, whatſoever He ſhal ſay or write, muſt more prejudice Him than you: for let Him never flatter Himſelf, it muſt be clear, not doubtfull, Reaſon, that can prevaile againſt that great viſible prevailing power, which now oppreſſes him: nor doe I ſay, it will; but certainly leſſe can do it: Where is then the *Danger*! Believe it Reaſon will hardly maintaine thoſe who are afraid of her.

After this, it is ſaid, That *they had cauſe enough to remember, that the KING ſometimes denyed to receive their humble Petitions*: but, they never tell, where, nor when, which, I am moſt confident, they cannot: but I am certaine, that the KING hath ſent divers Meſſages of peace to them, unto which, He hath yet had no anſwer; namely, His laſt from *Oxford* of the 15: of *Ianuary* 1645. and all the reſt ſince. As for the fight at *Brainford*, whoſoever will read the Collection of the Declarations in print, upon that ſubject, will clearly find, that the KING hath more reaſon to complaine, that They under colour of Treaty, ſought to environ Him with their Forces; than they, for what He then did; and His Retreat was neither for Fear, nor with Shame; for the appearing of the Enemy made Him retard, not haſten His Orders for retiring, which divers hours (before their appearing) He had given: which He did without any loſſe at all but (on the contrary) retreated with more Armes, ſeven colours, and fifteen peeces of Ordnance (beſide good ſtore of ammunition) than He had before: and for Cruelty, there was not a drop of blood ſhed, but

but in the heat of the fight, for I ſaw abo[ut] hundred priſoners, who (only promiſed *never to bear Armes againſt the* KING) were freely re[-] ſed.

Againe, they ſeem to have god memories, ſaying, *The King once ſent them a ſpecious Meſſage of renewing a Treaty, when at the ſame time, His Meſſenger was inſtructed how to manage that bloody maſſacre in* London *which was then deſigned by vertue of the Kings Commiſſion ſince publiſhed.* And hath the King ſent but one Meſſage for the renewing of a Treaty? then what was that from *Taveſtock* in Auguſt 1644. and five others from *Oxford* the next year? But indeed this that is here mentioned, they knew not how to anſwer (for at that time they knew not the way of ſilence) but by this forged accuſation againſt the Meſſenger; who, I dare ſay, knew nothing of that, which might have been (at that time) intended for the Kings ſervice, by ſome who had more zeal than judgment: But, that there was a *Maſſacre* intended, or, that any *Commiſſion* from the King ſhould countenance a deſigne, is a moſt notorious ſlander. As for the Kings mentioned Letter to the Queen, I am confident that any judicious Reader, will find the Gloſſe made upon it, very much wreſted; And certainly all ages will think theſe Times very Barbarous, wherein private Letters betwixt Man and Wife are publiſhed to open view: And in other Countries, there ſuch reſpect carried to private Letters of Princes, that (to my knowledge) the laſt Emperour in the great heat of the *Bohemian* war, having intercepted a Packet wherein were private Letters to King *Iames* of bleſſed memory (who was then known no great friend to the Emperour) from his only Daughter, then avowedly the Emperours greateſt enemy, yet he ſent them to the KING, without the leaſt offer of violence to the Seals.

And

now I come to their determination upon the matter, what course they have resolved to take the King? their words are, *But notwithstanding all other former tenders, We have now received such Denial, that we are in despaire of any good by addresses to the King; neither must We be so injurious to the people as by delaying their settlement, as any more to presse Them to consent to these, or any other propositions*: Besides, it is resolved upon the Question, *that they will receive from him any Message from the King*; and do enjoyn, *that no person presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both or either House of Parliament, or any of them*. Thus you see, that the King is laid by; but that is not all; for, He must neither justifie His Innocency against Calumny, nor is there any way left him to amend any errour, that he may have committed: is this a just way of proceeding? when truth, though offered, must not be heard; and that no way must be left to repent an errour? And why all this severity? Because (as I have already shown you) the King will not injure His conscience or honour, nor suffer his people to be oppressed; to which they give the tearm of such a *Denyal*, though really it was none. But since they seek thus to bedwink the people, it is no great wonder, that they bid the King to repent Him of those faults, which he never committed: and I believe all indifferent men, will easily judge of the Kings innocency, even by their way of accusation: For those who will lay such high crimes to his charge, as the *breach of Oathes, Vows, Protestations*, and *Imprecations*, would not spare to bring their proofs if they had any: But on the contrary, it is known to all the World, that He had not suffered as He has done, if He would have dispensed with that Tye of His *Coronation Oath*, which He made to the Kingdoms; which is no great signe that he makes slight of His engagements; of which it is so universally known,

knowne, that He has been so religiously carefull, to hold it a wrong to His Innocency, to seek to clear Him of such slanders, for which there are no proofs alleged: for, Malice being once detected, is best answered with Neglect and Silence. And was there ever greater, or more apparent Malice, than to offer to put the horrid slander of Paricide upon Him, who was eminently known to be as obedient and loving a Son to His blessed Father, as any History can make mention of? But indeed the losse of *Rochel* doth fitly follow; to shew, how Malice when it is at the hight, is ordinarily accompanied; for there are none but ignorant or forgetfull men, who know not that it was merely the want of assistance, from the two Houses of Parliament (contrary to their publick generall Engagement) that lost *Rochell*; and there is nothing more clear (to any who hath known French Occurrences) than, that reall assistance, which the KING to the uttermost of His power, gave to those of the Religion at that time, made the Cardinal of *Richelieu* an irreconcileable enemy to the KING; wherefore I cannot but say, that it is a strange forgetful boldnes to charge the KING with that which was evidently other mens faults.

There are also other things, that, to any knowing Man, will rather seem jeers, than Accusations; as the *German Horse* and *Spanish Fleet in the year* 1639. But my affection shall not so blind me, as to say, that the KING never erred; yet, as when a just Debt is paid, Bonds ought to be cancelled: so Grievances be they never so just, being once redressed, ought no more to be objected as Errors. And it is no Paradox, to affirm; that Truths, this way told, are no better than Slanders; and such are the Catalogue of Grievances here enumerated; which, when they are well examined, every one of them, will not be found such as here they are described to be.

Now

Now as concerning those Discourses which menti-
on the beginnings of these troubles, (which are in
two severall places of this Declaration) I will onely
say this; that what the KING did upon those occasi-
ons, was meerly to defend the Rights of His Crowne,
which were and are evidently sought to be torne from
Him; nor can I acknowledge all those Relations to
be true, such as *private Levies* of men, *by popish Agents*,
Arming of Papists in the North, *calling in of Danish*
Forces, and the like: And as for the stale slander of
calling up the Northen Army, now renewed, it is well
known, that the two Houses (even at that time) were
not so partiall to the KING, as to have concealed a
practice of that kind, if they could have got it suffi-
ciently proved.

But, if the *Irish Rebellion* can be justly charged up-
on the KING, then I shall not blame any for believing
all the rest of the Allegations against Him; onely I
protest against all Rebels Testimony, as good proof;
being most certain by experience, that they, who
make no conscience of Rebelling, will make lesse of
lying, when it is for their advantage. And, it is no
little wonder, that so grave an assembly as the House
of *Commons*, should so sleightly examine a businesse of
that great Weight, as to allege, that the *Scots* Great
Seal did countenance the Irish Rebellion, when I
know it can be proved, by Witnesses without excep-
tion, that, for many months before, untill the now
Lord Chancellour had the keeping of it, there was
nothing at all sealed by it: Nor concerning this great
point will I only say, that the King is innocent, and
all them prove, (which, to most accusations, is a suf-
ficient answer,) but I can prove that if the KING had
been obeyed in the *Irish* affaires before He went last
into *Scotland*, there had been no *Irish Rebellion*; and
after it was begun, it had, in few months, been sup-

 presse1

pressed, if His Directions had been observed; the KING had beene suffered to have performed His Engagements to the *Irish Agents*, and had disposed of the discontented *Irish Army*, beyond Sea (according to His contracts with the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadours) there is nothing more clear, than that there could have been no Rebellion in *Ireland*; because, they had wanted both pretence and meanes to have made one: Then, when it was broken forth, if those vigorous courses had been pursued, which the KING proposed, (first to the *Scots*, then to the *English* Parliament) doubtlesse that Rebellion had been soon suppressed. But what He proposed took so little effect, that in many months after, there was nothing sent into *Ireland*, but what the KING Himself sent (assisted by the Duke of *Richmond*) before He came from *Scotland*, unto Sir *Robert Steward*; which though it were little, will be found to have done much service, as may be seen by the said Sir *Roberts* voluntary Testimony, given in writing to the Parliament Commissioners then attending the KING at *Stoak*. And certainly, a greater evidence for constancy in Religion there cannot be, than the KING shewed in His *Irish Treaty*; for, in the time that He most needed assistance, it was in His power to have made that Kingdom declare unanimously for Him, and have had the whole Forces therof imployed in His Service, if He would have granted their demands in points of Religion, they not insisting in any thing of Civill government, which His Majesty might not have granted, without prejudice to Regall authority; and this can be clearly proved, by the Marquesse of *Ormonds* Treaties with the *Irish*, not without very good evidence by some of the KINGS Letters to the QUEEN, which were taken at *Naseby*, that are purposely concealed, lest they should too plainly discover

the KINGS deteſtation of that Rebellion, and ridgid firmneſſe to the Proteſtent profeſſion: Nor can I end this point, without Remarking with wonder, that men ſhould have ſo ill memories, as again to renew that old ſlander, of the *Kings giving Paſſes to over Paipſts, and perſons of quality, who headed the Rebels*; of which He ſo cleared Himſelfe, that He demanded reparation for it, but could not have it, although no ſhew of proof could be produced for that allegation: as is moſt plainly to be ſeen in the firſt book of the Collection of all Remonſtrances, Declarations, &c. fol. 69. & 70.

Thus having given a particular Anſwer to the moſt Material points in this Declaration, the reſt are ſuch frivolous, malicious, and many of them groundleſſe calumnies, that Contempt is the beſt Anſwer for them: Yet, one thing more, I muſt obſerve, that they not onely endeavour to make Fables paſſe for currant coin, but likewiſe ſeek to blind mens judgments, with falſe inferences upon ſome truths: for example: It is true, that *the KING hath ſaid in ſome of His Speeches or Declarations, that He oweth an account of His actions to none but God alone; and that the Houſes of Parliament joynt or ſeparate have no power either to make or declare any Law*: But, that this is *a fit foundation for all Tyrnany*, I muſt utterly deny: indeed, if it had been ſaid, that *the KING, without the 2 Houſes of Parliament, could make or declare Laws*, then there might be ſome ſtrength in the Argument; but, before this Parliament it was never ſo much as pretended that either or both Houſes, without the King, could make or declare any Law, and certainly His Majeſty is not the firſt (and I hope will not be the laſt) King of *England*, that hath not held Himſelfe accountable to any Earthly power; beſides it will be found, that this His Majeſties poſition is moſt agreeable

able to all Divine and Humane Laws; so far it is from being *Destructive to a Kingdom*, or *a foundation for Tyranny*. To conclude, I appeale to God, and the World, whether it can be paralleld by example, or warranted by Justice, that any man should be slandred, yet denied the sight thereof; and so far from being permitted to answer; that if He have erred, there is no way left Him to acknowledge or mend it; and yet this is the KINGS present condition; who is, at this time laid aside, because He will not consent that the old Fundamentall Laws of this Land be changed, Regal power destroyed, nor, His people submitted to a new Arbitrary Tyrannicall Government.

EIKON

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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE PORTRAICTVRE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SVFFERINGS.

Together with His MAIESTIES Praiers delivered to Doctor *Juxon* immediatly before His Death.

Also His Majesties *REASONS*, Against the pretended Jurisdiction of the high Court of Justice, which he intended to deliver in Writing on Munday *January* 22. 1648.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

M·DC. XLIX.

MALVOLIO'S STILE,

HIS SOLITUDES

AND

SVFFERINGS.

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Vpon His Maieſties calling this laſt Parliament.

THis laſt Parliament I called not more by others advice, and neceſſity of My affairs, then by my owne choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for my Crown, and beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeares, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelfe to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publique greivances in Church and State; I hoped by My [freedome and their moderation] to prevent all miſunderſtandings, and miſcariages in it; In which, as I feared affaires would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My ſelfe; not doubting but by the weight of

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1. Upon

Vpon His Maieſties calling this laſt Parliament.

THis laſt Parliament I called not more by others advice, and neceſſity of My affairs, then by my owne choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for my Crown, and beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeares, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelfe to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publique greivances in Church and State; I hoped by My [freedome and their moderation] to prevent all miſunderſtandings, and miſcariages in it; In which, as I feared affaires would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My ſelfe; not doubting but by the weight of

Reaſon I ſhould counterpoiſe the over-b[illegible]
cings of any factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to hear, with what partia-
lity and popular heat Elections were carried in
many places; yet hoping that the gravity and
diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and
fix the Commons to a due temperament, (gu-
ding ſome mens wel-meaning zeal by ſuch rule
of moderation as are beſt, both to preſerve and
reſtore the health of all States and Kingdoms.
No man was better pleaſed with the conve[illegible]
of this Parliament, then My ſelfe; who k[illegible]
ing beſt the largeneſſe of My owne Heart t[illegible]
ward My peoples good and juſt content[illegible]
pleaſed my ſelfe moſt in that good and fi[illegible]
underſtanding, which would hence grow b[illegible]
tween Me and My people.

All Jealouſies being laid aſide, My owne a[illegible]
my Children Intereſts gave me many oblig[illegible]
ons to ſeek and preſerve the love and welfare
my Subjects. The only temporall bleſſing th[illegible]
is left to the ambition of juſt Monarchs, as th[illegible]
greateſt honour and ſafety, next Gods protec[illegible]
on; I cared not to leſſen my ſelf in ſome thi[illegible]
of my wonted prerogative; ſince I knew I co[illegible]
be no loſer, if I might gain but a recompe[illegible]
in My Subjects affections.

I intended not only to obliege My Friends
Mine Enemies alſo: exceeding even the de[illegible]
of thoſe, that were factiouſly diſcontente[illegible]
they did but pretend to any modeſt and ſo[illegible]
ſenſe.

The *odium* and offences which ſome mens rigour or remiſſneſs in Church & State had contracted upon my Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws, & regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amiſſe in practiſe, but ſupply what was defective in the conſtitution: No man having a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſetled in Unity, and Order, than My ſelfe; whom it moſt concernes both in piety, and policy; as knowing that no flames of civill diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which make Religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform, what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſſe, and to grant whatever My Reaſon & Conſcience told me was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept my ſelfe within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own Iudgement to have been over-born in ſome things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had leſſe betrayed My ſelf, and My Kingdomes to thoſe advantages which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power and occaſion to do miſchiefe.

But our ſinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Iuſtice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Proſperity.

Thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies ſatisfie

thy Justice, nor prevent thy vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sins have over laid our hopes, Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend. When thou hast vindicated thy glory by thy Iudgement, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which we have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our sins, thou giv'st us cause to repent of those Remedies we too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of my calling this last Parliament, because [O Lord,] I did it with an upright intention to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdomes, are the just effects of thy displeasure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enioy them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and my People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements, that thy rod as well as thy Staffe may comfort us: That we shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy but, a Father, when thou giv'st us the humble affections, that measure of patience and repentance, which becoms thy Children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought

Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the sins we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings then our peace could be with our sins. O thou Soveraign goodnesse and wisdom who over-ruleſt all our Counsels, over rules also all our hearts, that the worse things we suffer by thy iuſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our sinnes have turned our Antidotes into poyson, so let thy grace turn our poysons into Antidotes.

As the sins of our peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy war, so let this Warre prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that kingdom of peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy ſervant, [though a Sinner] *for my Saviours ſake.* Amen.

---

2. *Vpon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt affaires of State.

For, thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many

Enemies; whereof he could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſpheare, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt need, [as the ſun] raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular Odium, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit and integrity.

Though I cannot in my judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of times, and the Temper of that people, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any height and rigour of actions, yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroak of Juſtice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the buſineſſe of that unfortunate Earl: when between My own unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people, I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed, I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on my part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in my judgement I thought not, by any clear Law, gilty of death; That I never bare my touch of Conſcience with greater regret; which

which, as a ſign of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans own Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State ſores; to calme the ſtormes of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans own boſome.

Nor hath Gods juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the falacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though uniuſtly) then the people be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.*

For, In all likelyhood I could never have ſuffered with My People greater calamities (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency, at leaſt by denying to ſigne that deſtructive Bill, according to that juſtice, which my Conſcience ſuggeſted to me, then I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And *I* have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled me to ſign that Bill, have been ſo farre from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with the people, that no men have bin haraſſed and cruſhed more than they: He only hath bin leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled me not to conſent a-

gainſt the vote of my owne Conſcience, I hope God hath forgiven me and them the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſines.

To which being in my Soul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe judgments God hath pleaſed to ſend upon me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to me, as to make me repent of that unjuſt act, (for ſo it was to me) and for the future to teach me, That the beſt rule of policy is to prefer the doing of Iuſtice before all enjoyments, and the peace of my conſcience before the preſervation of my Kingdoms.

Nor hath any thing more fortified my reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunityes, which ſince have ſought to gaine alike conſent from me, to Acts, wherein my conſcience is unſatisfied, then the Sharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* Buſines.

Not that I reſolved to have imployed him in My affaires, againſt the advice of my Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair hearing, to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes; eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe

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of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My L. of *Straffords* greatnes and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemne him to die; who for their integrity in their Votes, were by poasting their names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred and fury: which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours *for Justice*, [that is, to have both my self and the two Houses vote, and do as they would have us] that many ['tis thought] were rather terrified to concur with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to do.

And that after Act vacating the authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tells the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure, and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tenderneſſe and regret I find in my soul, for having had any hand [and that very unwillingly God knows] in shedding one mans bloud unjustly (though under the colour and formalities of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publike mischiefs:) which may, I hope, be some evidence before God and Man, to all posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been shed in this unhappy War: which some men will needs charge on Me, to ease their own soules, who am, and ever shall be more afraid to take

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away any mans life unjuſtly, then to loſe my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of ſinfull complyance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me, then any Man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envie, or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould, at leaſt ſo farre, have bin a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloudguiltineſs, O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhal ſing of thy righteouſneſs.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me with that pretious efuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.

Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy Judgements, and to ſee my frailtie in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon Me, and upon My Kingdomes, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make me to preferre Juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrarie clamours, which are but the diſcoveries of mans iniurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me,

to please them by displeasing thee; O never suffer me for any Reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Iudg of our Consciences. whatever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the ioy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subiects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Iustice, and Religion, which shines in my Soule, for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and integritie in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours bloud, which speaks better things; O make me, and my people, to hear the voice of ioy & gladness, that the bones which thou hast broken may reioice in thy Salvation.

3 *Upon His Maiestes going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand justice upon the 5. Members, was an act, which my enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and fears; yea; and many of my freinds resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion than Reason, and not guided with such discreti-

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on as the touchines of those times required. But these men knew not the fast motives, and pregnant grounds, with which *I* thought my self so furnished, that they needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free & legall Triall, which was all I desired.

Nor had *I* any temptation of displeasure or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those [as *I* thought] unlawful correspondencies they had used, & engagements they had made to embroyle my Kingdomes; of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens owne hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in any Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preserve by calling in question halfe a dozen men, in a fair and legall way, (which God knows was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do me and my Kingdome right, in case they had bin found guilty; or else to have clear'd their innocency, and removed my suspitions; which, as they were not raised out of any malice, so neither were they in Reason to be smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark (though I

ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witnes: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended Me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times, ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my comming, then I was unaſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many people had, [at that time] learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men and their adherents were then looked upon by the afrighted vulgar as greater Protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will

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be *subter fuge* sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunalls.

To which, in the obstructions of justice among men, we must religiously appeale, as being an argument to us Christians of that after unavoidable judgement, which shall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which I foresaw, would in all likelyhood follow some mens activity [if not restrained] and so now hath don to the undoing of many thousands, the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Authority by any violent impressions upon them, was not at all my design: I thought I had so much justice and reason on my side, as should not have needed so rough assistance: and I was resolved rather to bear the repulse with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

But thou O Lord art my witnesse in heaven, and in my Heart: if I have purposed anie violence or oppression against the innocent, or if there were anie such wickednesse in my thoughts.

Then let the enemie persecute my soule, and tread my life to the ground, & lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou that seest not as a man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart,

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and trying the reins, & bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my afflictions be eſteemed, as (with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſinne in that matter, more then their impunity among good men is any ſure token of their innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though they are not puniſhed for it in this world.

Save thy ſervant, from the privie conſpiracies & open violence of bloodie and unreaſonable men, according to the uprightnes of my heart, & the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cauſe, and maintain My Right, O thou that ſitteſt in the Throne, iudging rightlie, that thy Servant may ever reioyce in thy Salvation.

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4 *Upon the Inſolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our ſins) more ominouſly preſaging all theſe miſcheifs, which have followed, then thoſe Tumults in LONDON and WESTMINSTER, ſoon after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a ſtorm at Sea, [which yet wants not its terror] but like an Earth-quake, ſhaking the very foundations of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

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As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Seas, so 'tis no lesse, that he restraines the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

VVhich those Tumults did to so high degrees of insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedome of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed, or disliked them; nor did they forbeare most rude and unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to my selfe and my Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague, but a quotidian feaver, always encreasing to higher inflamations, impatient of any mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must be a guard against those fears which some men scared themselves and others withall, when indeed nothing was more to be feared and lesse to be used by wise men, then those tumultuary confluxes of meane and rude people, who are taught first to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at last to command and overawe the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament [that is, all freedom

some of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reason and candour) must be taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses be purged, and all rotten Members (as they please to count them) cast out; By these the obstinacy of men resolved to discharg their Consciences, must be subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismaticall proposalls against Government Ecclesiasticall or Civill, must be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults: whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening & season of counsells or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravity, and deliberateness befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, & forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their inventers and incouragers most fancyed.

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced, encouraged and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired for the publique good, then obtain it by such an unlawfull and irreligious means? But mens passions and Gods direction seldome agree; violent designes and motions must have sutable engins, such as too much at-

tend their own ends, seldome confine themselves to Gods means. Force must croud in, when reason will not lead.

VVho were the chief Demagogues and Patrons of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and emboulden them, to direct and turne their clamorous importunities, some men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance; God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea, to rage when strong winds blow upon it, so neither for multitudes to become insolent, when they have Men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudenesse most formidable, was that many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My self and some of both Houses; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far spread disease, and predominant mischiefe.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience: Others petulancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged and abused, while they knew their only security consisted in vulgar flattery: So insensible were they of mine, or the two Houses common safety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, & punish the known

Boutefeus

Incendiaries, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served. Yea, some (who should have bin wiser Statesmen) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and industry; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devill, who *goes about seeking whom he may deceive and devoure.*

I confesse when I found such a deafnes, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first fouly insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour, nor yet from my self, could take place for the due repression of these Tumults: and securing not only Our freedom in Parliament, but Our very Persons in the streets; I thought My self not bound by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldnesse and contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the Ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining som degrees of modesty and sober sense.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimity in any man for popular terrours to desert his publique station. But I think it a hardinesse beyond true valour, for a wise man to set him self against the breaking in of a Sea; which to resist, at present, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it space to spend its fury, and gaines a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather

fight to, great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Some suspected and affirmed that *I* meditated a Warre (when *I* went from *whitehall*, only to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence) God knowes *I* did not then thinke of a Warre.

Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by so many former, and some after-acts, have so much weakned my self, if I had purposed to engage in a War, which to decline by all means, I denyed My self in so many particulars; Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our selves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and discontent might not fly so high, as to worry and tear those in peices, whom as yet they but played with in their Pawes? God, who is My sole Judge, is My Witnes in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from My House at *whitehall*, if I could have had but any reasonable fair Quarter; I was resolved to bear much, and did so, but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majesty of my place and Person, the safety of My Wife and Children, to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunity most capable of their rudenesse and petulancy.

But

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others, yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it as it is. Onely *I* beleive the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make thoſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſſe of their puniſhment. 'Tis more then an even-lay that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both houſes being left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reaſon, honour, and Religion, they ſhould have bin; *I* doubt not but things would have bin ſo carried, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For *I* was reſolved to hear reaſon in all things, & to conſent to it ſo far as *I* could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens, and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to publick Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, that had *I* called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as *I* might opportunly enough have don) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing might have been prevented.

A Parliament would have bin welcom in any

place, no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are readie to overwhelme me.

I lick upon My sinnes, and the sinnes of My people, (which are the tumults of our soules against thee O Lord) as the iust cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbeare all the banks of loyaltie, modestie, Lawes, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appeare, and after didst asswage the flouds which drowned the world, by the word of thy power: Rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver Me from the rudeness and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee unto us, the freedomes of our Counsells, and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the Light of reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians, so shall we praise thy name, who art the God of Order and Councell.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy omnipotent Justice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living a timely ſence and ſorrow for their great ſinne, whom thou knoweſt guiltie of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errour by Truth, to our ſeditions by lawes duly executed, and to our ſchiſms, by Charitie, that we may be as thy Jeruſalem, *a Citie at unitie in it ſelfe.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Ieſus Chriſts ſake Amen.

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5 *Upon his Maieſties paſsing the bill for Trieniall Parliaments, and after, ſetling this, during the pleaſure of the two houſes.*

THat the world might be fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I could, to the happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament (which had in me no other deſigne but the generall Good of My Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the Bill for Trieniall Parliaments; which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applyed) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head, or prevailing; eſpecially, if the remedy proved not a deſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived this Parliament would find work with convenient Receſſes for the firſt 3. yeares; But I did not imagine that ſome Men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found well don to their hands.

Such is ſome mens activity, that they will needs make worke rather then want it; & chuſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then doe nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfy ſome mens fears, and compaſſe publick affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that BILL of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted, in ſome mens ſenſe, to as much as the perpetuating of this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent jealouſies, and future miſtakes. I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelfe out of doores, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, it was an Act unparallel'd by any of My Predeceſſors; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, That my Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny my ſelf in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For, good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit, that my condition ſhould be worſe by my bettering theirs. Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had known as well

with

with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtnes to deſire advantages of doing good or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the commonweal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigour; wherein my Intereſt lyes more then any mans, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights as a King, would be preſerved no leſſe then My Subjects, which is al I deſired. More then the Law gives Me I would not have, and leſſe the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented Me of ſetling that act; & many would needs perſwade Me, I had cauſe ſo to do; But I could not eaſily nor ſudenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in Men of Honour. That the more I granted them, the leſſe I ſhould have and enjoy with them. I ſtill counted my Selfe undiminiſhed by my largeſt Conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirme the love of my people.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſſe me with increaſe of it, when men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſſe prejudice; that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe (as *I* think) not more Princely then freindly Contributions, which *I* granted toward the perpetuating of their happines; who are now only miſerable in this, That ſome mens ambition will not give them leave to enioy what *I* intended for their good.

Nor

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyall and cleared affections of My people, will ſtrive to returne ſuch retributions of Honour and love to Mee, or my poſterity, as may fully compenſate both the acts of my confidence and my ſufferings for them; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little, to men, that being profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular piety, and religious ſtrictneſſe.

The Injury of all Injuries, is, That which ſome men will needs load me withall; as if I were a wilfull and reſolved Occaſioner of My owne, and My Subjects miſeries, while (as they confidently, but (God knowes) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility, to undoe what by My Royall aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreme fatuity of minde in Me, ſo farre to binde My owne hands at their requeſt, If I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knowes, though I had then a ſenſe of injuries; yet not ſuch as to think them worth vindicating by a Warre: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure my ſelfe by their not urging favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threathed to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turne them

them into wantonneſſe, but I thought at length their owne feares, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them down againe.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me, or others; was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way, upon thoſe whom I knew ſo wel fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Armes, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows, I longed for nothing more then that My ſelfe, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſin, as well as of Hazard, and Diſhonour, for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to my Subjects content, and Mine owne too, in all probability: if ſome men had not feared where no feare was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thank God, I knew ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of My owne heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; That although I may ſeem leſſe a Politition to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions

ctions or evasions before God Nor had *I* any reservations in my own soul, when *I* passed it; nor repentings after, till *I* saw that my letting some men go up to the pinacle of the temple, was a temptation to them to cast me downe headlong.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it self, together with Me, could not but be dashed in peices by such a precipitious fall as they intended, whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdomes as the Devill shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them (if they could be at once enjoyed by them] are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soule worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preserved Me, & made Me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to do much evill themselvs, or abuse the over-much goodness of others, whereof an ungratefull surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease,

I cannot say properly that *I* repent of that Act, since *I* have no reflections upon it as a sin of my will, though an errour of too charitable a judgment; only *I* am sorry other mens eyes should be evill, because mine were good.

To thee (O My God) do I still appeale, whose Adiseerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses, of their Hearts.

Thou

Thou gavest Me a heart to grant much to my subiects, and now I need a heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be don, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be most conformable to thine & theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy Grace teach me wisely to enioy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires:

I see while I thought to allay others fears; I have raised My Own; and by setling them, have unsetled My self.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou my Pilot in this dark & dangerous storme, which neither admits My return to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

Tis easie for thee to keep Me safe in the love and confidence of my people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve Me amidst the uniust hatred and iealousies of so many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse my Acts of greatest Indulgence to them; and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then my selfe may be, of misusing those many and great ones, which Thou, O Lord, hast conferred on me.

I beseech thee give ME and them such Repen-

tance

tance as thou wilt accept, and such graces as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect with a reforming displeasure upon my offences against thee.

So, although for my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

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6 *Upon his Maiesties retirement from* VVestminster,

WIth what unwillingnesse I withdrew from WESTMINSTER, let them judge, who unprovided of tackling and victuall, are forced to Sea by a storme; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee-shore.

I stayed at *White-Hall*, till I was driven away by shame, more then fear, to see the barbarous rudenesse of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My self, or the Members of Parliament, the liberty of our Reason, and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intollerable oppression my crime alone, (though cheifly Mine) For the Lords and Commons

Commons might be content to be over-voted by the Major part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their owne freedome.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to my Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them, My conſent, whom they repreſent not in any kinde; Nor am I further bound to agree with the votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with my juſt Rights, as a King, and the generall good of my people. I ſee that as many men; they are ſeldome of one minde, and I may oft ſee, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes, how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick infatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they drank; whom no fountaine of Royall bounty was able to overcome: ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure, it ceaſes to be Councell: when not reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and terrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to what ever tumultuary patrons ſhall project. Hee deſerves to be a ſlave without pitty, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall ſoveraignty of his Soule, and liber-

ty

ty of his will, and words so captivated.

Nor do I think my Kingdoms so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot be denyed me as a King, because it belongs, to me as a man, and a Christian, owning the dictates of none, but God to be above me, as obliging me to consent. Better for me to die, enjoying this Empire of my soul, which subjects Me only to God, so farre as by Reason or Religion he directs me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassallage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation *O*ath, in a blind and bruitish formality, to consent to what ever its subjects in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs infer; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as KING, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience; which themselves, and all the Commons of ENGLAND enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publique; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever my selfe, as King, or the House of Peers with Mee should, not so much desire, as enjoyne them to passe. I think my Oath fully discharged in that point, by my governing only by such Lawes, as my People will

the House of Peers have chosen, and my selfe have consented to. I shall never think my selfe conscientiously tied to go as oft against my Conscience, as I should consent to such new Propositions, which my Reason, in Justice, Honour, and Religion bids me deny.

Yet so tender I see some men are of their being subject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonour and absurdity they make their King the only man, that must be subject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by any Representation.

And if my dissentings at any time were (as some have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opiniativenesse, weaknesse, or wilfullnesse, and what they call Obstinacy in me (which not true Judgement of things, but some vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on my mind) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by savage rudenesse, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Errour and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follows what Hee takes for Reason:

The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteere his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meere force to carry on the weakneſſe of their Councells, and Propoſalls. I may, in the Truth and Vprightneſſe of my heart, proteſt before God and men, that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denyed any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to me by the two Houſes, Further then I thought in good reaſon I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever pleaſe me more, then when my judgement ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good conſcience conſent to them: yea, in many things where not abſolute and morall neceſſity of Reaſon but temporary convenience in point of honour was to be conſidered; I choſe rather to deny my ſelfe, then them; as preferring that which they thought neceſſary for my peoples good, before what I ſaw but convenient for my ſelf.

For I can be content to recede much from my owne intereſts, and Perſonall Rights, of which I conceive my ſelf to be Maſter; but in what concernes Truth, Juſtice, the Right of the Church, and My Crowne, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes: (all which I

I am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me,) here I am, and ever shall be fixt and resolute, nor shall any man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirme that to men, which in My Conscience I deny before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of lead, whose embassed flexibleness shall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when instead of Reason, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the interest of Parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills, and passions.

I know no resolutions more worthy a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdomes.

O my God, preserve thy servant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedom; For this I believe is thy will, that we should maintain: who, though thou dost iustly require us, to submit our understandings & wills to thine; whose wisdome and goodnes can neither erre, nor misguide us; and so farre to deny our carnall reason, in order to thy sacred mysteries, and Commands, that we should believe and obey, rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our consciences, & as to the desires of men, enioyneſt us to try all

things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon & Laws, which are the rules of Civill Juſtice; and to declare our conſent to that only which our Judgment approve.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou haſt ſet me, and whereto the affairs of my Kingdoms at preſent did call me.

My People can witneſs how far I have bin content for their good, to deny My Selfe, in what thou haſt ſubjected to my diſpoſall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities, & tumultuary violence of ſome mens immoderate demands, ever betray Me to that degenerous & unmanly ſlavery, which ſhould make me ſtrengthen them by my conſent in thoſe things, which I think in my Conſcience to be againſt thy glory, the good of my Subiects, and the diſcharge of my owne duty to reaſon and Juſtice.

Make me willing to ſuffer the greateſt indignities, & iniuries they preſſe upon Me, rather then commit the leaſt ſinne againſt my Conſcience.

Let the juſt liberties of my people be (as well they may) preſerved in fair, and equall wayes, without the ſlavery of My Soul.

Thou that haſt inveſted Me by thy favours, in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer me not to ſubiect My Reaſon to other mens paſſions, and deſires, which to Me ſeem unreaſonable, iniuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerve thee in the truth and uprightneſſe of my heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee. Lead Me in the way of Truth and Iuſtice; for theſe, I know, will bring Me at laſt to peace and happineſſe with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours ſake.

Vpon the Queenes departure, and abſence out of England,

ALthough I have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the ſcandall of that neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict Me. That She ſhould be compelled by My own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For I look upon this now done in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion, may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, & divorce of affections in her

from that religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ. Which yet God can, & I pray he would in time take away, & not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to her judgement, since it is the motion of those men (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firme to their former setled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady, should be any occasion of her danger and affliction; whose merits would have served her for a protection among the savage Indians; while their rudenesse and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all Virtues, as some mens subtilty doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. The fault is, that She is my Wife.

All justice then as well as affection commands me, to study her security, who is only in danger for my sake; I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, & shipwrackt, so as she may be in safe Harbour. This comfort I shall enjoy by her safety in the midst of My Personal dangers, for I can perish but halfe, if she be preserved: in whose memory, and hopefull Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of my enemies, although they should be satiated with my bloud.

I must leave Her, and them to the love & loyalty of my good subjects; & to his protection

is able to punish the faults of Princes, and to lesse severely to reveng the injuries done to Them, by those, who, in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from those, that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe for any relation to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

Tis pitty so noble and peacefull a soule should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights; & assure the envious world, that she loves me, not my fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generality, and Vulgar; for we see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themselves against Vs; and those of Our owne Household are become Our Enemies.

I pray God lay not their sin to their charge; who think to satisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion; and can lesse

endure to see, then to sin against their benefactours, as well as their Soveraigne.

But even that policy of my Enemies is so far veniall, as it was necessary to their designes, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive her out of my Kingdomes; lest, by the influence of Her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty as a Subject, Shee should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyalty all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The lesse I may be blest with Her company, the more I will retire to God, and my owne Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My Enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy my self.

Thou, O Lord, whose Iustice at present sees fit to scatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, re-unite us, on earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despiteful and deadly Enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion, (which is My greatest temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relation,

soules eternall good, and make us careſull to doe that good we know.

Let neither ignorance of what is neceſſary to be known, nor unbeliefe, or diſobedience to what we know, be our miſery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great ſcandall of thoſe my Subiects, which profeſſe the ſame Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldſt have her to learne, nor any hardning of her in any errour, thou wouldſt have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens conſtancy be an Antidote againſt the poyſon of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profeſſe, be repreſented to her Iudgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceableneſſe; which are the proper fruits, & ornaments of it: Not in the odious diſguiſes of levity, Schiſme, Hereſie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Diſloyalty, which ſome mens practiſes have lately put upon it.

Let her ſee thy ſacred and ſaving Truths, as Thine, that ſhe may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all ruſt and droſſe of humane mixtures. That in the glaſſe of thy Truth ſhee may ſee thee, in thoſe mercies which thou haſt offered to us in thy Son Ieſus Chriſt, our only Saviour, & ſerve thee in all thoſe Holy duties, which moſt agree with his Holy Doctrine, and moſt imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity and uncertainty of all humane glory and greatneſſe in our ſcattering and eclypſes, let it make us both ſo much

much the more ambitious to be inveſted in thoſe durable honours, and perfections, which are only to be found in thy ſelfe, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

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8. *Vpon His Maieſties repulſe at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſe at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloyalty, that My greateſt Enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abett, or owne it: It was the firſt overt Eſſay to be made, how patiently I could beare the Loſſe of My Kingdomes.

God knowes, it affected me more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My ſelfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me ſo much as their ſinne, which admitted no colour or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to beare this, and much more, with patience: But I foreſaw they could hardly conteine themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effronty enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoone after to overſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and

disloyall Undertakers, that bad actions must alwaies be seconded with worse, and rather not be begun then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, & hate repentance more then perseverance in a fault.

This gave me to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of some men; whose words were sometime smoother then oyl, but now I saw they would prove very Swords.

Against which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good conscience, thought it my best policy [with patience] to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of HOTHAM, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported me, by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or say any thing, unbeseeming my selfe, or unsutable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becoms a Christian, as coming neareſt to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, I desire alwayes more to remember I am a Christian, than a King; for, what the Majesty of one might justly abhor, the charity of the other is wiling to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man, more then his greatest Enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our soules, which otherwaies cannot reach very farre, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve how God not long after ſo pleaded, and avenged My cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blind cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and fear to own it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, only blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his owne and his eldeſt Sons heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull to them, ſhould not find mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them. For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turne, the cutting off one head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront don to the head of the commonweal. The eldeſt ſon muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſinne of the Father, againſt the Father of his country: root & branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knows, I was ſo far from rejoy-

cing

in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as were able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a ful draught, being executed by them, who first imployed him against Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowrnesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgment that they cannot see any thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use, with intents to retrom to their Models, what they call Religion; who think all is Gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeale & fervency.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think,) a man of another temper, and so most liable to those downright temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes me more pity him is, that after he begun to have some inclinations towards a repentance for his sinne, and reparations of his duty to Me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not my Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me. For I think clemency a debt, which wee ought to pay to those that crave it, when wee have cause to beleive they would not after abuse

buse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but only prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a noteable monument of unprosperous disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraigne carries alwayes its own vengeance as an unseparable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether Hotham were more infamous at Hull, or at Tower-hill, though 'tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unworthy actions, which besides the conscience of the sin, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name & memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord who hast in so remarkable a way revenged thy servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injury he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, & consider the affront against me, more then the sinne against thee.

Thou indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return upon his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou

Thou haſt pleaded my cauſe, even before the ſons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and ſee that thou, Lord, haſt done it.

I do not, I dare not ſay, ſo let mine enemies periſh O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunity, if it be thy bleſſed will.

Let not thy iuſtice prevent the obiects and opportunities of my mercy: yea, let them live and amend who have moſt offended me in ſo high a nature: that I may have thoſe to forgive, who beare moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Maieſty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this Thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to me, be a terrour to all.

Diſcover to them their ſinne, who know not they have done amiſſe: and ſcare them from their ſinne, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.

That, preventing thy Iudgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercy, and truth meeting together: let my Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe and peace, kiſſing each other.

Heare my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our Enemies, for thy ſake: who haſt prevented us with offertures of

thy

thy love, even when we were thine Enemies, and *sent thy Son Iesus Christ to die for us, when we were disposed to crucifie him.*

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9. *Upon the lifting, and raising Armies against the* King.

I Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was when they forced Me to leave *White-Hall*: what Tumults could not doe, an Army must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled too a better order, but as bad an end: My recesse hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And so I easily may as to any outward strength, which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am sure to be Conqueror, if God will give Me such a measure of Constancy, as to feare him more then man: and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before any outward tranquility.

And must I be opposed with force; because they have not reason wherewith to convince Me? O My Soule! be of good courage, they confesse their knowne weaknesse, as to truth and Justice, who choose rather to contend by Armies then by Arguments.

Is

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those many Acts of Grace I have lately passed, and for those many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING but by My sufferings?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and desires their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civill War in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdome, the fruits I must now reap, after 17. years living and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plenty, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithstanding some miscarriages in Government, which might escape; rather through ill counsell of some men driving on their private ends, or the peevishnes of others envying the publike should be managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then any propensity, I hope, of my selfe either to injuriousnes or oppression.

Whose innocent bloud during My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousnes? what Widdowes or Orphans tears can witnesse against me, the just cry of which must now be avenged with My own bloud? For the hazards of War are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any respect of Persons.

In vaine is My Person excepted by a Paren-

theſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this War againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoone end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeemes rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of minds, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentary Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My owne Conſcience; however ſome men are not willing to believe Me, leſt they ſhould condemne themſelves.

VVhen I firſt with drew from *white-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolency of the Tumults, of the not ſuppreſſing of which no account in Reaſon can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted, but only to oppreſſe both Mine and the Two Houſes freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this that what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeeme ſo to another? VVhom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryal, (warned by My Lord

of Straffords death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appear, where they evidently ſaw the current of Iuſtice & freedom ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durſt not come to the houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with liberty & ſafety, it cannot ſeem ſtrange to any reaſonable man; when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before the cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Iuſtice againſt them, & made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences; I know no man ſo dear to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelfe, or deny appearing upon their ſummons, to whoſe ſentence according to Law, I think every Subject bound to ſtand. Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted & demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church & State;

In this point I could not but approve their generous constancy and catiousneſſe; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safety, Fulneſſe, and Freedom.

But, the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in fair and parliamentary ways, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelves (by the deſperate activity of factious Tumults) to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrary minds to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peers, carried for them by far the Major part of Lords. Yet after five repulſes, contrary to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuary inſtigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when moſt of the Peers were forced to abſent themſelvs.

In like manner, was the Bill againſt Root and Branch brought on by tumultuary Clamours, & ſchiſmaticall Terrours; which could never paſs till both houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed. To which Partiality, while in all reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, My conſcience forbad Me by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I muſt now be urged with an Army, and conſtrained either to hazard My own

owne, and My Kingdoms ruins, by My Defence; or proſtrate My Conſcience to the blind obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolicall, and anciently Univerſall Government of the Church by Biſhops.

Which if other mens Iudgements bind them to maintaine, or forbids them to conſent to the aboliſhing of it, Mine much more, who, beſides the grounds I have in My Iudgement, have alſo a moſt ſtrikt and indiſpenſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, (moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury,) moſt un-beſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My conſent, be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much, as the leaſt ſinne hath more evill in it, then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point, with My conſent; and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetouſneſſe, ambition, and Revenge, I beleive they would then have found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done

with a firme perſwaſion of their contentednes to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights, and Honour for My ſake, and the Commonweals; which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdome. That I cannot adde My conſent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon My Conſcience, as what I think Religious and Apoſtolicall; and ſo very Sacred and Divine, as not to be diſpenſed with, or deſtroyed; when what is only of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent, who are concerned in it, be annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to be in point of Juſtice and Authority of Parliament; when, I call God to witnes, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of a VVarre, being only ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in My own and other mens Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence againſt violence: but thoſe could not be the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Army againſt Me. VVherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have

have declared often, that they might ſeeme to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Me with all the envy & injuries of firſt aſſaulting them) that God knows, I had not ſo much as any hopes of an army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honourably and effectually repreſſed by exemplary Iuſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all Members of either houſe might with Honour and Freedome, becoming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being my neceſſity driving, the other my choiſe deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy, which I carry with me, which would never fit their deſignes: and ſo while they invited me to come, and greivouſly complain'd of my abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my ſelfe, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all reaſon and Honour, they were as loath to have deſerted

as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions, or Treaties, what they would have to appeale them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of Me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Me, and only to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, and acceſſary, after the Warre was by them unjuſtly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearneſſe of judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affaires betweene us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and

in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a VVar, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this VVar, on My ſide, I do not think My Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe My Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires; Thou Judgeſt without preiudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guids thy unerrable Iudgement.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoule, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes.

Conſider my Enemies, O Lord, for they are many, & they hate me with deadly hatred, without acauſe.

For Thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſigne or preparation to embroyle My Kingdoms in a Civill War; whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gaine leaſt of any by it.

Thou O Lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of my Subiects blood, as to venture my own life, which I have bin oft compelled to dcè in this unhappy Warre; and which were better ſpent to ſave then to deſtroy my People.

O Lord; I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the uniuſt reproaches of thoſe, who not content that I ſuffer moſt by warre, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tougues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own Innocency yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, If by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, & redeeme My People from this miſerable Warre; ſince thou O Lord knoweſt my Innocency in this thing. Thou wilt find out bloudy & deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelvs the enioyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Councells.

Save, O Lord thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt; and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in War.

Ariſe O Lord, lift up thy ſelfe, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemyes, which encreaſeth more and more: Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chiefe deſigne of this Warre is, either to deſtroy my Perſon, or force My Iudgement, and to make Me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſſe Davids choice; and deſire

ſire rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercy be cruell) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire; Better they deſtroy Me, then thou ſhouldeſt damne Me. Be thou ever the defence of My ſoule, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but My bloud will ſatisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Iuſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by Mine owne Subiects hands.

But O let the bloud of Me, though their King, yet a ſinner, be daſhed with the bloud of My Innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Iuſtice, will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary ſatisfaction; both for my ſins, and the ſins of my People; whom I beſeech thee ſtill owne for thine; and when thy wrath is appeaſed by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them, O my Father, for they know not what they doe.

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10. *Upon their ſeizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am Charged with the firſt raiſing of an ARMY, and beginning this

this Civill Warre, the eyes that only pitty me, and the Loyall hearts that durſt only pray for me, at firſt, might witneſſe, which yet appeare not ſo many on my ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt me; my unpreparedneſſe for a War may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help me; while it argues (truly) my unwillingneſſe to fight, yet it teſtifies for Me, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend my ſelfe, or to preſerve what is mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me, in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt Me, and ſurprizalls of My ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for Me; ſo overaw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I beleive my Innocency, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert my Rights and Honour, makes Me the more guilty in their eſteem; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a war againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew my chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe only, which the ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Tears. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to Suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing My Caſtles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia

Militia, is ſo far beſt for Me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arme of fleſh, and wholy to caſt my ſelf into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be ELIAS Caterers, and bring him foode, may alſo make their ſurprizall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the Militia ſo much in reference to My owne protection as My Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve Me, I am above My Owne; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe Men will needs take to reſolve their riddle of making me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to My Freinds, and a Terrour to My Enemies, by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſs the other. For thus have they deſigned, & propoſed to Me the new-modelling of Soveraignty and kingſhip; as without any reality of power, ſo without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience; That the Majeſty of the King, of England might hereafter hang like Mahomets Tomb, by a magnetique Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But

But, I believe, the ſurfet of too much Power; which ſome men have greedily ſeiz'd on, & now ſeek wholly to devour, wil ere long make the Common-wealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects ſeldome agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their feares, and importunities, both to ſecure My Freinds, & overcom Mine enemies, to gain the peace of al, by depriving My ſelf of a ſole power to helpe, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crowne) to be diſpoſed of; as the two Houſes ſhall thinke fit, during My time.

So willing am I to bury all jealouſies of me, in them, & to live above all jealouſies of them, as to My ſelf; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them & My People, if I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further than they protected Me, & themſelvs: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evill merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtody of the Shepheard and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath beene wreſted from

from Me, and imployed againſt Me and Them, that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath entruſted the publique ſafety and welfare.

Yet even this Confeſſion of Mine as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactory to ſome men; which ſeeme to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſterity ſuch Jealouſies of the Crowne, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice, due to My Succeſſors, forbid Me to yeild to ſuch a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility and duty (no leſſe then juſtice and honour) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclypſe My owne beames, to ſatisfie their feares, who think they muſt needs be ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſture of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have inveſted Me; yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Poſterity, and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recovery of their Rights, from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never be prejudiced or obſtructed by any Act of Mine; which indeed would not be more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I deſire

to

to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a shew to the People to have more eyes to foresee, so they will find it hath more mouths too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, than any thing of perfection; beyond that of right Monarcy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the supreame Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily, when men have tried the horrour and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkenesse and Eclypse, (occasioned by the interposition and shaddow of that body, which as the Moon receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteem and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Suns light.

And, if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Right in the power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust, to which I am sworne for My Peoples protection. I conceive those men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if so it may seem) who compell Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; of protecting My Subjects, by exposing My selfe to danger or dishonour, for their safety and quiet.

VVhich, in the conflicts of Civill VVar and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by some side yeilding; to which the greatest love of the publique Peace, and the firmest assurance of Gods protection (arising from a good conscience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which arising from the injustice of their Actions (though never so successefull) yet dare not adventure their Authors upon any other way of safety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Consciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrasions.

For my selfe, I do not think that I can want any thing which providentiall necessity is pleased to take from Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whose protection is sufficient for me; and he is able, by his being with me, abundantly to compensate to Me, as he did to *Iob*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himselfe can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*; all refuge by Land, of Forts, and Castles; all flight by Sea in My Ships, and Navie; yea, though they study to Rob me of the hearts of my Subjects, the greatest Treasure & best Ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mer-

cy nor obſtruct My way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flye for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There is nowe in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee; In the loſs of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haſt to ſuccour me, thou that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, & proſperity, behold here am I, willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe Judgements oft begin with thy own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercyes, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help Me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide; yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not feare what man can do unto me. I will give thy juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soule!

By my ſinnes have I fought againſt thee, and

yet

robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubiect; and iuſtly mayſt thou, by my owne Subiects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclypſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelfe, O my hope, and only refuge! Let not mine Enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot-ſteps ſlip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhaddow of thy wings.

Shew thy marveilous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly Enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of Ioy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

II. *Vpon the* 19. *Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* King; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My owne ſafety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot thinke I buye at too deare a rate, ſave onely

the parting with my Conſcience and Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfye, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My Enemies can make or wiſh Me.

Some things here propounded to me have bin offered by me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (*I* think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a war; when I have already declared that I cannot yeild to them, without violating my Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making Warre upon My Soul.

Here are many things required of me; but I ſee nothing offer'd to me, by the way of grateſull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for thoſe favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot ask more than I can give, may I but reſerve to my ſelf the incommunicable Jewell of my Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſs nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Me; and while I have any maſtery of My Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? who know they be ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a K I N G, or a good Chriſtian. My yeilding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing. The

The love I have of My Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace, hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken My outward ſtate of a King; as wound that inward quiet of My Conſcience, which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to Me than My kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve yet in Honour & Policy are at ſome time to be denyed, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeeme not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable Demands, or importunities.

But to bind My ſelfe to a generall and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by His owne Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdome, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to bind his owne hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to doe, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, & fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorne.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, ſeemes an arrogancy, leaſt of all becomming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who, by that, ſufficiently confeſſe their owne inferiority; which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reaſon, to Conſent, or Diſſent; elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reaſon, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which laſt God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraigne, and them my Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoone prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gaine to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit & confine his King, in Reaſon, who hath not a ſecret aime to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in power & dominion. But they would have me truſt to their moderation, and abandon mine own diſcretion;

that

that so I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet I am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mans dictates, & at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason in my soul, and the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Snbjects.

Least of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit, or, do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, Sitting and Voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these Propounders are; so that, till experience of one seven yearts hath shewed me, how well they can Govern themselves, and so much power as is wrested from me, I should be very fooliish indeed, & unfaithfull in my Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of my own, into to their hands, whose driving is already too much like *Iehues*; and whose forwardnesse to ascend the Throne of Suprem acy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phœbus*; God divert the Omen if it be his will.

They may remember, that at best they sit in Parliament as My Subjects, not my superiours,

called to be my Counsellours, not Dictators. Their Summons extends to Recommend their advice, not to command my Duty.

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had bin desired to a restauration of their vigour and due execution; or some evill customes praeter-legall, and abuses personall had been to be removed; or some injuries done by My selfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired; or some equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of my Crowne, being considered by them, might fairly induce me to condescend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of My selfe; whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve my People according to my Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentialls of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard of the Lawes, inforce, the wisdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men.

Nor

Not yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution, and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reforme its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeale and ſpeciall piety, but with pregnant & ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to theſe ends; Nothing of any Lawes diſ-joynted, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any Juſtice to be unobſtructed; of any compenſations to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But, as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty, I perceive that what were formerly look't upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſmes in the Church, and ſo, puniſhable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not only Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Lawes againſt them; and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propoſitions

are

are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in thoſe which are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely. Nor do I ſo much wonder at the variety, & horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions (therebeing nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for. This caſts me into, not an admiration, but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortun to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgements free, ſingle, and apart did approve or deſire ſuch diſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remaines in far the major part of both Houſes, (if free and full) ſo much learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, & the corruption, the Government and the Miſ-government, the Primitive Patterns; and the abberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little, or no reaſon (as yet produced to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Lawes in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the proſperity of former times in this Church & ſtate, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, theſe men ſuffer, either

either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulity (believing that all is Gold, which is guilded with ſhewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private diſſenting in judgement to be drawne into the common ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humour; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamours and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite activity of thoſe men, who ſtudied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating deſignes, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My Judgement, of reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevaile againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did my judgement tell Me, that the Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the Ma-

jor

jor part of their votes, who exercise their freedome, as well as they have a right to sit in Parliament, I should then suspect My own judgement; for not speedily & fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wise men among them: and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want; so tis fit I should use their advise; which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a compleatnesse and inerrability as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in Nallatures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publick wisdom, which makes the Laws. But the unreasonablenesse of some Propositions not is more evident to Me, than this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; which, in my two last famous Predecessours daies, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am sure was never wont so farre to infect the whole masse of the Nobility and

and Gentry of this Kingdome; however it dispersed among the vulgar: Nor was it likely so suddenly to taynt the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous innovations in Church & State, contrary to their former education, practice, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countryes; some thirsting after nothing more, than a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all reason bids me impute these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No lesse doth Reason, Honour; and Safety both of Church and State command me, to chew such morsells, before I let them down; If the straitnes of my conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such Camels, as others do of sacriledg, & injustice both to God & man, they have no more cause to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs. Yet, by Gods help, I am resolved, That nothing of passion, or peevishnesse, or list to contradict, or vanity to shew my negative power, shal have any byas upon my judgement, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reason and Conscience commands me not.

Nor

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more than Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I wil never, for feare, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, & oppres the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free, and faithfull counſell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving the counſell of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſdom is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant, firſt, with cleare diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Iuſtice; in My underſtanding; then ſo confirme My will and reſolution to adheere to them, that no terrours, Iniuries, or oppreſſions of my Enemies may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe then a Man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and ir-

injustice, they deny that freedom to me their KING, which Thou hast given to all Men; & which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To thee I make my supplication, who canst guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed labyrinths of our own thought, and other mens proposalls; which, I have some cause to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in those difficultyes, wherewith they lie in wayt to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way playn before Me.

Let not my own sinfull passions cloud, or divert thy sacred suggestions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot please all, I care not to please some men; If I may be happy to please thee, I need not fear whom I displease.

Thou that makest the wisdome of the world foolishnesse, and takest in their own devices, such as are wise in their own conceits, make Me wise by thy truth for thy Honour, my Kingdomes generall good, and my own soules salvation; and I shall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The lesse wisdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they shall be convinced of thy wisedome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of crossenes, or humour; nor grant

any

any thing which is to be denied, out of any fear or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens designes, which are iniurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or perverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow that advise, when it appears to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours, as blast fraudulent counsells.

Since we must give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne Declarations of my minde which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique, either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine owne, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet, Lord, never suffer Me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or wast of My Conscience; whereof thou, O Lord, art deservedly more Master then My selfe.

Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discerne the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant rebellion. Indeed, that Sea of bloud, which hath there bin cruelly & barberously shed, is enough to drown a Nation in eternall both infamy and misery, when God shall find the malicious Author or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me, that; when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloudy opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more distasted to me, being so full of sin against God, disloyalty to my selfe, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the *Irish* Rebells did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by my Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no newes for some of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commission, but against my Command, and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my safety.

I would to God the Iriſh had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt neede be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor wil the goodnes of mens intentions reacuſe the ſcandall, & contagion of their Examples.

But, who ever fail of their Duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame; this Honour my Enemies have always don me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trialls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them,

Therefore, with exquiſite malice, they have mixed the gall & vinegar of falſity & contempt, with the cup of My Affliction; Charging Me not only with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe & diſhonour by what is committed; whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and religion, having leaſt cauſe to give, the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world, the more inhumane & barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and bloud of my own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies, as much as ſom mens doth in their perturbations; who think they cannot do well but in evil times, nor ſo cunningly as in laying the odium of thoſe ſad events on others; when with themſelves are moſt pleaſ'd, & whereof they have bin not the leaſt occaſion.

And

And certainly, tis thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour, and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive, that kindled, and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where, despaire being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, and the naturall desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after rigours wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great argument of the Truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knowes, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that rebellion, so I might wash them in my Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so farre, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions, and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their owne safety, or designes they were driving, then to the reliefe of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *IRELAND*: Whose wrongs and bloud might, if nothing else, have

quenched, or at least, for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civill dissensions & jealousies, which in *England* some men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been ill affected with *Ireland* bad estate than my self, I offered to go my self in Person upon that expedition; But some men were either afraid I should have any one Kingdome quieted, or loath they were to shoot at any mark here lesse then my selfe, or that any should have the glory of my destruction but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the rebellion had bin so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindered the speedy suppressing of it, by domestick dissentions, or diverted the Aides, or exasperated the Rebells to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatning extremities, not only to the known head, & chief incendiaryes, but even to the whole community of that Nation, Resolving to destroy Root and Branch, Men, Women, and Children, without any regard to those usuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their owne breasts, in behalfe of those, whose oppressive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them, or whose imbecility for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither

lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand & their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelical Zeale is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cityes for the repulse or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremityes, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; such as might punish some with exemplary justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their submission, & our protection of them, from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them. But some kind of Zeal counts all merciful moderation, luke-warmnesse; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, & is not seldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confiscation of mens estates being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred, and over-borne with numbers of now desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant Party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a cessation, without which they

saw no probability (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that business, by persons of Honour and Integrity, that so I might neither incourage the rebells Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants loyalty and patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer againe in my reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devoure the remaining handfulls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that, in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not be so much to the Rebels advantages (which some have highly calumniated against me) as it might have been for the Protestants future, as well as present safety; If during the time of that Cessation, some men had had the grace to have laid *Irelands* sad condition more to heart; and laid aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let bloud then to staneh it.

But in all the misconstructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is false and evill, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, because he is pleased so far to try my patience, as he did his servant *Job's*

I have enough to doe to look to My own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of My Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouths & hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a Fornace; Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction, who, conſcious to their owne depth of wickednesſe, are loath to beleive any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

Tis Kingly to do well, and heare ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill doe better than they deſire, or deſerve I ſhould.

I beleive it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not-timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſion of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (what ever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my own veins; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelfe; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never wil, yet the mercy of God wil at length ſay to his juſtice, *It is enough*: & command the ſword of civil wars to ſheath it ſelf: his mereifull juſtice intending I truſt not our utter confuſion; but our cure;

the abatement of our sins, or the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once againe which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abused, and can never deserve should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelty among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another. Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practised in Charity, thou hast suffered a Spirit of Errour and bitternesse, of mutuall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our repentance be our recovery, as our great sins have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgements; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sinnes, and remove thy judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our sinnes be evermore grievous to us, than thy Judgements; and make us more willing to repent, then to be relieved; first give us the peace of penitent consciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the Sea of our Saviours bloud drowne our

sins

ſtorms, and through this red Sea of our own bloud bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publique relations to all, make me ſhare in all my Subiects ſufferings; ſo give me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of my people.

Let the ſcandalous and uniuſt reproaches caſt upon me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion. Give me grace to heap charitable coales of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in Ireland, whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.

And lead thoſe in the wayes of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errours have filled them with Rebellious and deſtructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy Juſtice be againſt thoſe, who malicioufly and diſpitefully have raiſed, or fomented thoſe cruell and deſperate wars.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadſt pity on Niniveh for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore iuſtly curſed.

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the

fornace of thy ſevere iuſtice a Poſterity, which may praiſe thee for thy mercy.

And deale with Me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the innocency of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdoms calamities; if I have not earneſtly ſtudied, and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloody diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe.

O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of mens I need not, ſo I ſhould not dare thus to imprecate thy curſe on me and mine, if my Conſcience did not witneſſe my integrity, which thou, O Lord, knoweſt right well; But I truſt not to My own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of bleſſed memory; but alſo ſpecial and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits, among them ſo far, that I ſeemed to many, to preſer the deſires of that party, before my own intereſt and Honour. But, I ſee,

Royall

Royall bounty emboldens ſome men to aske, & act beyond all bounds of modeſty and gratitude. My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconſtancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good. I pray God it may ſo prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late New-modell, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave onely to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent means, before the divine Juſtice, I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that forme, which they cry up as the only juſt reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to goe on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them

them imagined would have done in England, when so many of the English Clergy, through levity or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion, for any forraign State or Church to prescribe such medicines only for others, which themselves have used, rather successefully than commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations. That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor doe I know any such rough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the diferences; whom not force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their designe now seemed rather to cut of all disputation here, than to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the English Clergy must conform to the Scots pattern, before ever they could be heard what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for

for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

But, in matters of Religion those truths gain most on mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and it unreasonable to be used, till such means of rationall conviction hath beene applied, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemns mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*, who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, only because that Party of the Scots will needs, by force, assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the only institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government, yet I believe it would be harder to prove that Christ had given those Scots, or any other of my Subjects, Commission, by the sword to set up it in any of My Kingdomes without My Consent.

What

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostls paid to the chief Governours of State, where they lived is very clear in the Gospell; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour, I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ, sure it differs from all others, and is the first and only point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watred with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the primitive Planters, both of Christianity & Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the Temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected. Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many solemne obtestations, and pious threatnings, but only this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a War, which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further ingaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and

and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, ſet up their wayes by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery ſeeks to ſuppreſs, & render odious under thoſe names; when wiſe and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schiſme, and Sectariſme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſall way of the Church-government, and ſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this Engliſh Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives, then ſouldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God; who hath many waies (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, & peaceable wiſdom, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, & his Churches good; which I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious Zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Own; & the ſalvations of mens ſouls above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſinne and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they have firſt gained my

my consent, and resolved both my own and their mens Consciences by the strength of reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle my religion; nor any mans else who knowes what Religion means; and how farre it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those that have some temptation of gaine, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the new Armies comming in against my will, and the sentence of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me; then I wondred, how they here could so much distrust Gods assistance, who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, my Forts, Castls, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the Justifiablenesse of their doings, and designes before God, never think they have humane strength

ough to carry their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſſiſtance, others of them ſoone after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetledneſſe by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed, at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the filmes and pretenſions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their deſignes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe conſederations or deſignes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of

their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward Me, as to make Me to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Me, all Reason and true policy will teach them; that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to any party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My Safety and Honour for their advantages: However, the lesse cause I have to trust to men, the more I shall apply my self to God.

The Troubles of My Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou Me out of My distresse.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious simplicity, which is the best policy.

Deliver Me from the combined strength of those, who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand ioyne in hand, yet let them not prevaile against My soule, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canst turne the hearts of these Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyall Zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth, and uprightnes in

Me

me, and I ſhall not deſpair of My Subjects affections returning towards me.

Thou canſt ſoone cauſe the overflowing Sea to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O my God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not my Enemies triumph over me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſs without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute my Soule.

Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve me, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliarie; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and faire pretenſions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacy. This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar; muſt by ſo ſolemne a charme and exorciſme be caſt out of this Church, after more than a thouſand yeares poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianity in this Iſland, and an univerſall

prescription of time & practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times till this last Century

But no Antiquity must plead for it. Presbytery; like a young Heyr, thinks the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chair & Authority (though Lay-men go away with the Revenues) all art is used to sink Episcopacy, and lanch Presbytery in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant

Although I am unsatisfyed with many passages in that covenant (some referring to My self with very dubious & dangerous limitations yet I chiefly wonder at the designe & drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carying them on to new ways, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no cleare morall necessity, but very disputable, & controverted among learned & godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certainty in ones self, or that charity and candour to others of different opinion, as I think Religion requires, which never refuses faire and equable deliberations; yea, & dissentings too, in matters only probable. The enjoyning of oaths upon people must needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no lesse superfluous, where former religious and legall

Engagements

Engagements bound men ſufficiently, to all neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former proteſtation which was ſo lately taked, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they count Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never thinke they have laid ſnares and ginnes enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulity: for by ſuch politique and ſeemingly-pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the populacy faſt to their Parties under the terrour of perjury: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelvs ſufficiently bound, by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and Man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few Men in a declared Party, without My Conſent, and without any like power or precedent from Gods or mans lawes, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall & eternall bounds of duty which lie upon all My Subjects conſciences both to God and Me. Yet, as things now ſtand, good men ſhal leſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt & lawfull ways; ſince I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenat, in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in purity, and the kingdoms in peace: To other then ſuch ends and

meanes they cannot think themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches of Conſcience, endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious & ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare preferre ambiguous, dangerous, and un-authorized novelties, before their known and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters which by juſt & lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soul, That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn leagues & covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, that they are the common road uſed in all factions and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule & wonted practiſe, to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who aym to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold men

Conſcience

Consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soone growes his owne Pope, and easily absolves himselfe of those ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but only the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon him; either superfluous and vaine, when they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall waies seldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but only to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not their chief Designe which is laid against the Church, and Me. It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; So little do men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly

and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all piety and loyalty; who firſt yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in caſe they wholly refuſed it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome generall Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, theſe (indeed) carry no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of mens duties.

I would to God, ſuch, as glory moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keepe themſelves within thoſe lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt way to expiate the raſhneſſe of taking it: which muſt needs then appeare, when beſides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at firſt to enjoyne it, it ſhall actually be carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive ſuch mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within ſuch bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelfe, or the Publique Peace: Againſt which; no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it juſt or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgements, profeſſion and practiſe) ſuch foule ſcandalls and ſuſpitions ſhould be caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour, at home: all whoſe judgments I cannot but perfer before any mens now factiouſly engaged.

No man can be more forward than My ſelfe to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall adviſe) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the main Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have beene more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legall Rights than the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being lean,

lean, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of this City, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne, with My Conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not only what the pious muniſicence of My Predeceſſours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of chriſtian bounty.

But no neceſſity ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Ioſeph's* true piety abhorred to doe: So unjuſt I think it both in the eye of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred imployment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the ſtraw, and encreaſe the Taske; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſome have done, to the read ſea of

a Civil Warre, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteems it His greateſt Title to be called, and His chiefeſt glory to be *The Defender of the Church, both in its true faith & its iuſt fruitions, equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apoſtacy*,

I had rather live as My Predeceſſour HENRY 3 ſometime did; on the Churches Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhops and Miniſters mouthes.

The next work will be *Ieroboam's* reformation, conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to be Preiſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerve thoſe Golden Calves, who have enriched themſelves with the Churches Patrimony and Dowry; which how it thriued both with Prince, Prieſts, and People, is well enough knowne: And ſo it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queenes, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhal be at their alowance, who have already diſcovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England*, cannot excuſe the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as pray God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I thinke it no leſſe than a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs, whoſe occaſions

caſions and remedies are in our own power; it being every mans ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are wayes enongh to repair the breaches of the State without the ruins of the Church; as I would be a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not be an oppreſſour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts. The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would be much worſe; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be acceſſary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addreſſe My prayer, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſſe of My Subiects Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſe and obſervation of thoſe juſt, morall, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Conſciences; From which no pretenſions of Piety and Reformation are ſufficient to abſolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practiſes.

Make them at length ſeriouſly to conſider, that nothing violent and iniurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the Zeal of abhorring Idolls.

Suffer not ſacrilegious deſigns to have the Countenance of religious ties.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, and after Vows to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy ſervant from conſenting to periurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not

have

have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such prophane Reparations; lest a coal from thine altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church. The State may soone recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, & their Religion so illeberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the Iustice of the Laws are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the releif of the poor; That thy Preists may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poor may be satisfyed with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudg that they are not satisfyed,

Let those sacred morsells, which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's

Vineyard

Vineyard to Ahab; *gall in their mouths, rottenneſſe to their names, a moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.*

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together againſt the Church and State, that the folly of ſuch may be manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favour My righteous dealing, O Lord, that in the mercies of thee, the moſt High, I may never miſcarry.

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15. *Upon the many Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the* King, *to ſtir up the People againſt Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſſe the Truth; and by Jealouſies to ſupply the defect of Reall cauſes, which might ſeeme to juſtifie ſo unjuſt Engagements againſt Me.

And indeed, the worſt effects of open Hoſtility come ſhort of theſe Deſignes: For, I can more willingly loſe My Crownes, than My Credit;

Credit; nor are My Kingdoms, ſo dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Thoſe muſt have a period with My life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gon: A good name being the embalming of Princes, & a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eternity of love & gratitude among Poſterity.

Thoſe foule and falſe aſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt employed againſt My peoples love of Me: that undermining their opinion & value of Me, My enemies; and theirs too might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their loyalty.

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honour is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſin and danger of My peoples ſouls, whoſe eye once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpicions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they do not only, not conſider their ſin and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to be deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Deſtroyers; imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pity was above My anger; nor have My paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude My moſt compaſsionate prayres for them, whom devout errours more than their own malice have betraied to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed errours, not My Person; and intended to mend Me, not to end Me: And I hope that God, pardoning their Errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved Me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared Me, both to doe him better service, and My people more good, than hitherto I have don.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generality of My people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever be able to deptive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I shall never gratifie the spightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade Me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The sense of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to My selfe; our welfares being inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My selfe, that they are anima-

ted

ed by ſome ſeducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My enemyes, that I be afflicted: but it muſt be don by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly deſire, & whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forreign Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children; dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquility, I could willingly be the *Ionah*; If I did not evidently fore-ſee, that by the divided Intereſts of their & Mine enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent my peoples ruine then rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happineſſe; if it could expiate or countervaile ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and dy many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray My own juſt rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratify the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My Enemies; betweene whoſe malice; and other men miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as betweene an ordinary AGUE and the PLAGUE; or the

Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Lyars need have good Memories, ſo Malicious Perſons need good inventions; That their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, then My leiſure to Anſwer the many falſe Aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider My Subjects Satisfaction, then my own Vindication: I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of, or remember what they ſay, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be puniſhed by their own evil manners and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I beleive, in a ſhorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe ſcandals, which they have caſt on Me; And make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civility (I need not ſay Loyalty) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit & reputation, even with the People, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame fornace of popular obloquy and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of infamy, & wherein they have fought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honour.

Firſt

First, nothing gave Me more cauſe to ſuſpect and ſearch My owne Innocency, then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety; For this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme Him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, then forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo religious Pretenſions, as were uſed againſt me, ſhould be to many well-minded Men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfullneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended. The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me & Mine; they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down Mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of My Religion in the Proteſtant Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have. Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednes in that Religion, whoſe judicious & ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrud upon me, & my people.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſetled in the Confeſsion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the moſt calme, and unpaſsionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt My Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid, or did, ſo they might prevaile. 'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould

ſhould not conceive, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the fameneſs of duty, Allegiance, and ſubjection. The firſt they owe as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to Me in Common, as their *King*: different profeſſions in point of Religion, cannot (any more than in Civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertaine in their ſervice (who find moſt fault with me) without any ſcruple, as to the diverſity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would be counted Proteſtants, to enforce Me, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord & King, to a neceſſary uſe of Papiſts, or any other, who did but their duty to help Me to defend My ſelfe.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in ſuch exigents to uſe the aid of any his Subjects. I am ſorry the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſe of their Allegiance, than many Proteſtant profeſſors; who ſeem to have learned, & to practiſe the worſt principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had bin a very impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Me, (and very pleaſing no doubt to My enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was diſputed with by ſwordspoints: and when I needed the help of My Subjects

as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evill Councellours was another usefull device for those, who were impatient any mens counsels but their owne, should be followed in Church or State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsel, that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man, or honour, as a King; making their counsels more like a drench that must be powred down, then a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties My selfe, or My Counsellours: They might be subject to some miscariages, yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, than those enormous extravagances, wherewith some men have now even wildred and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worst Couucels, that My worst Counsellours ever had the boldnesse to offer to Me, or My self any inclination to use; I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdomes, to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hell of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me or My Subjects.

No men were more willing to complaine, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either

either done or adviſed amiſſe; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were ſorry to ſee me prone even to injure My ſelf, out of a Zeal to releive my Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Conceſſions; &, withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort & reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloryed among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crowne of chriſtian Patience, which attends humble & injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My Peoples affections from Me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the popular ſenſe, which is to do what every man likes beſt.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, & to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon; Lawes, and Religion; I envy not My ſubjects that Liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy My ſelf; So far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords & Gentlemen which aſſiſted Me, ſo prodigall of their liberties,

as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posteritie.

As to Civill Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, wil never desire greater freedoms then the Laws alow, whose bounds good men count their Ornament & protection; others, their Menacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward & benefit of the Law, who despiseth its rule and direction, losing justly his safety, while he seeks an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best inform my Subjects, that those are the best preserver of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousnes against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feele it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-Subjects libertyes, who have the hardinesse to use their King with so severe restraint, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane, under which; yet, I wil rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true consciencious tendernes (attended with humility and meeknes, not with proud & arrogant activity, which seeks to hatch every Egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on Gods

Soveraignty,

Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Conſciences; and yet he hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabiſhed, further then with meeknes and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick peace.

The truth is, ſome men thirſt after Novelties; others deſpaire to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to thoſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been diſcharged to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got & enjoyed under my government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; & My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull Inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am wel aſſured, that as mine Innocency is clear before God; in point of of any calumnies they object; ſo My reputation ſhall like the Son (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelfe to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ferall Birds

ſhall

ſhall be greived to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious the thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious ſubjects.

And who knows but the juſt and merciful God will do Me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe & evill ſpeeches againſt Me; wherein they ſpake rather what they wiſh, than what they believe or know. Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of honour, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which like fire, in great conflagrations, fly up & down to ſet all places on like flames) than thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who, contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evill of dignityes, and bring rayling accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are honoured with the name of Gods. But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God, ſhould not Honour their Kings

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhaddowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty; in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men & Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and ſacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhal their black veiles be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently & humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone

alone are all the traditions of true glory and Majesty.

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonour, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are set on fire, even the Suns of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine Enemies reproach Me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O My God, how long shall the sons of men turne my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, least My Enemies prevaile against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhor both the bloud thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noone day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; &, being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished, when by thy iudgements on* David *he might seem to iustifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evill-speaking by well-doing; and let them enioy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiahs *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy Iustice in their sin.*

Let Sheba's *seditious speeches,* Rabsheka's *railing,* & Shemei's *cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward Me.*

Though they curse, do thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Looke downe from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, & keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. *Vpon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Booke.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who, seeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and piety, must needs undoe whatever was formerly setled never so well and wisely.

So

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdome or godlineſſe. And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly beares a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the peopl than to tel them, They ſerved God amiſſe in that point. Hence our publique Liturgy or Formes of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might ſeeme to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed; and, after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Lawes in force, it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary veyn and fluency; or others, who, conſcious to their own formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſs of their hearts. As for the matter contained in the book, ſober & learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety to make what profan objections, they could againſt it, eſpecially for Popery & Superſtition; whereas no doubt, the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrine

doctrine of the Church of *Engl.* and this by all reformed churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox. For the manner of uſing Set & preſcribed Formes, there is no doubt but that wholſome words being known & fitted to mens underſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor doe I ſee any reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould be weary of a wel-compoſed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things; wherein the conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any Reaſon, why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame forms of prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, believes in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reads the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feels the ſame daily wants for the moſt part, both inward & outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as wel before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; & in what words, as to what ſenſe; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and diſgeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our daily bread.*

Some men, I heare, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotion their own invention, and gifts, that they not only diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away & contemn the *Lords Prayer*;

whoſe

whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant & originall pattern of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church. I ever thought that the proud ostentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of variety for expressions, in Publique Prayer, or any sacred Administrations, merits a greater brand of sinne, than that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse: Nor are men in those noveltyes lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formal in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, & hinder the Spirit of prayer, & devotion, than un-premeditated & confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, & humble use of Ministers gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, & excite their own, & the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private and single abilityes should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilityes & concurrent gift of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service booke were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to Compose with

with ſerious deliberation & concurrent adviſe ſuch Forms of prayers, as may beſt fit the churches common want, inform the Hearers underſtanding; and ſtir up that fiduciary and fervent application of their ſpirits, (wherein conſiſts the very life and ſoul of prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have; which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain, and ridiculous repititions, the ſenſeleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo facred a nature, before God & the Church, after ſo ridiculous, & indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duryes of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtil the ſame, Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own forms conſtantly which are not like to be ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of Publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt euery time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed

mans greatest sufficiencyes not to want (many times) much of that compleatnesse, or, and gravity, becomming those duties, which by this means are exposed at every celebration every Ministers private infirmities, indispositions, errours, disorders, & defects, both for judgment and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom & piety of the Ancient church, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Lyturgies of publick composure.

The want of which I believe this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of mens un-governed ignorance, and confident sects, shall be discovered in more errours, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many; the more is the pity.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and set those innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, & Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholy to justle out the publick Lyturgy.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and unmanly severity of those men, who either lately have subscribed to, used and maintained the Service-book, or refusing to use, it cryed out of the rigour of the Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Lyturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer, without penalty, any to use the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Consciences binde them to it, as a duty of piety to GOD, and Obedience to the Laws. Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorus exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours, most pretended Conscientious liberties; which freedome, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to serue Me; whose abilities, euen in their extemporary way, come not short of the other: but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, least, being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driven either to sinne more against their knowledge, by taking away the Lyturgy

or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not only for their numbers & estate, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weaknes or giddines they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-book, I believe, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even cursings of Me in their own forms, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their only punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publique Liturgyes hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Formes of sound and wholsome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of varie y; & yet of constancy; Thou dea.est us not a new & fresh sense of our old and dayly wants; nor despisest renued affections ioyned to con ant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united & wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will; which is alwaies the same; and the fer-

vency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither dispised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their Judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errour consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy, Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errour, and disformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, and other holy men) in the same formes cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdome to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from

the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

17. Of the differences betweene the King and the two Houſes, in point of Church-government.

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath bin, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of piety, as policy, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men, and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtraine the ſeditious exorbitances of Miniſters Tongues; who with the Keys of Heaven have ſo far the Keys of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, Ibeing (as *King*) intruſted by God, & the Laws, with the good both of Church and State; ſee no reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion,

that I encline to them for any use to be made of their Votes in State affairs: Though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is justly satisfyed, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and also the constant practise of all Christian Churches; til of late years, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some mens wits to invent new modells, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kindome*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a Title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes; contrary to the full, and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostls and their immediate Successors first & best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, that al churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by the prescribed

ſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500. years not one Example can be produced of any ſetled Church, wherein were many Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſome Biſhop above them, under whoſe jurisdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſall practiſe agreeing with ſo large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, as are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the ſetling of that Government, not in the perſons only of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more diſpenſe with, in point of wel-being, then the want of the Word & Sacraments, in point of being) I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eye upon Biſhops power and authority, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſticall uſe of them, and Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth as to the maine ſcope & deſign of thoſe Epiſtles; for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline; then thoſe ſhorter Characters of the qualities and duties of Presbiter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles, who in the latitude and commu-

improperly be called *Bishops*, as to the overs
and care of single Congregations, commit
to them by the Apostles, or those Apostol
Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeed
them in that ordinary power, there assigned o
larger divisions, in which were many Presbyt

The humility of those first Bishops avoidi
the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in
Churches stile appropriated from its comm
notion (*of a Messenger or one sent*) to
special dignity which had extraordinary c
mission, gifts, and power immediatly fro
Christ: they contented themselves with th
ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters; u
till use, (the great Arbitrator of words, an
Master of Language) finding reason to disti
guish by a peculiar name those persons, whos
power and office, were indeed distinct from
and above all other in the Church, as succe
ding the Apostles in the ordinary and co
stant power of governing the Churches, (t
honour of whose name they moderately, y
commendably declined) all Christian Chu
ches (submitting to that special authority) appr
priated also the name of *Bishop*, without any
pition or reproach of arrogancy, to those w
were by apostolical propagation rightly deso
ded & invested into that highest & largest po
er of governing even the most pure & primit
Churches: which, without all doubt, had m
such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* &

Titus

whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds & limits of all Episcopall claim, as from divine right) then are the Characters of these perilous times, & those men that make them such, who, not enduring sound doctrine, & clear testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse disputers, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopaty: who, if they be not Traytors and Boasters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded, inordinate & feirce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, litle of the power of godlines.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seeke to over-lay & smother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Episcopall government, which, beyond al equivocation & vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Historyes of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince that Posterity may see, (if ever these Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from scripture-Canons, & Ecclesiasticall examples, whereon My judgment was stated for Episcopall government. Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of wil, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me; who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and My dearest relations with My Kingdoms,

Kingdomes, have ſuſtained, and hazarded, chiefly, at firſt, upon this quarrell.

And not only in Religion, of which Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Vniverſall practice the beſt commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdome and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſerled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and injoyed in thoſe times,

times, which were pureſt for Religion, though sharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this preſidency and authority in one man; by the joynt Counſell and conſent of many Presbyters: I have offerd to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities, which are incident to any one man; Alſo to avoyd Tyranny, which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may lie too heavy on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magiſterial; and wherein not only the neceſſity of avoyding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contemps, which are prone to riſe among equals in power and function, but alſo the differences of ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to thoſe Abilities, wherein they are eminent. Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching Epiſcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which wil not admit any oppoſitions againſt it: it is well knowne I have endeavoured to ſatisfie my ſelf in what the chiefe Patrons for other wayes can ſay againſt this, or for theirs; And I finde they have, as farr leſſe of

Scripture

Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples, and practise of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholy destitute, where in the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, that there is not the least rivolet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformity to all Antiquity; I could never see any reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conforme to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation; and to those Churches at this day, who, Governed by Bishops in all the Christian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms, lately Governed by Bishops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdom or charity, where Christians differ, (as many do in some points) there to widen the differences, & at once to give all the Christian world (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-government; whom though you may convince of their Errours in some points of Doctrine, yet you shal never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that

Government

Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolicall: So farre, as never Schismaticks, or Hereticks, (except those Aerians) have strayed from the Vnity, and Conformity of the Church in that point, ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kindoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did confirme contrary to their consciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not only quite voyed down the government by Bishops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and most illegall stripping all the Bishops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, & utter alienation of those church-lands from any Ecclesiastical uses. So great a power hath the stream of times, & the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so total

call change little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appear the greatest enemies to, & betrayers of their own interest: for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People & of Princes, as Plants do betweene being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of laws or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function the faults of times, or persons; which seditious & popular principle, and practise all wise men abhor. For those secular additaments & ornaments of Authority, civill Honor & Estate, which My Predecessors, & Christian Princes in al countries have annexed to Bishops & Church-men, I look upon them but as just rewards of their learning, and piety,

who

who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; alſo enablements to works of Charity, and Hoſpitality, meet ſtrengthenings of their Authority in point of reſpect, and obſervance; which in peaceable times is hardly payed to any Governours by the meaſure of their vertues, ſo much as by that of their Eſtates; Poverty and meanneſſe expoſing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners; which perſecuting times much reſtrained. I would have ſuch men Biſhops, as are moſt worthy of thoſe incouragements, and beſt able to uſe them: if at any time my judgement of men failed, My good intention made My errour veniall: And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure, I had, whoſe learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governours to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect, which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Epiſcopacy; wherein (God knows) I do not gratifie any deſire or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of truth. And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for

Subjects,

Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence
infinite indignities, with servile restraints to
to force Me their KING and Soveraign, as
men have endeavoured to do, against al
grounds of My Judgment, to consent to
weake and divided novelrs.

The greatest Pretender of them desires
more then I do, That the Church should be
verned, as Christ hath appointed, in true Rea
and in Scripture; of which I could never see
probable shew for any other wayes, who
content themselves with the examples of
Churches in their infancy & solitude, when
Presbyter might serve one Congregation,
City or Country; or else they deny these
evident Truths, That the Apostles were
over those Presbyters they ordained, as wel
ver the Churches they planted; and that Go
ment, being necessary for the Churches wel
ing, when multiplyed & sociated, must also
sarily descend from the Apostles to others,
the example of that power and superiority,
had above others; which could not end with
persons; since the use and ends of such Go
ment still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive
best Churches flourished under Episco
& may so still, if ignorance, superstition, a
revenge, and other disorderly and
passions had not so blown up some mens
against it, that what they want of Reason or

itive Patterns, they ſupply with violence
nd oppreſſion, wherein ſome mens zeal
or Biſhops Lands, Houſes, & Revenues
ath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopa-
cy: which (however other men eſteeme) to Me
s no leſſe ſin, then Sacriledge; or a robbery of
God (the giver of all we have) of that portion
which devout minds have thankfuly given again
o him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets;
hrough whoſe hands he graciouſly accepts even
cup of cold water, as a libation offered to him.
Furthermore, as to My particular engagement
bove other men, by an Oath agreeable to My
dgment I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve
t Government, and the Rights of the Church
Were. I convinced of the unlawfulnes of the
nction, as Antichriſtian, (which ſome men
dly but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with
dgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly
s taken by Me.
t being daily by the beſt diſquiſition of truth,
ore confirmd in the reaſon & Religion of that
which I am Sworn; how can any man that wi-
eth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once
o ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledg
d Perjury? beſides the many perſonall Inju-
es I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are
egally inveſted in the ir Eſtates, as any, who
to deprive thē; and they have by no
, been convicted of thoſe Crimes, which
t forfeit their eſtates & livelyhoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tendernes of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender of their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me That I muſt, and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds me (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both My ſelf, and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious & unreaſonable, as being againſt the very natural and eſſentiall liberty of our ſouls; yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think my ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God & Man. Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious covetouſneſſe, and Sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State, in Civill diſſentions; till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knowes) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhorre as many wayes highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto, If I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonourably give My con-

ſent

sent; yet should I not by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Me and Episcopacy.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scots* in point of Church-government, be rightly objected against Me, as an inducement for Me, to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms; For it should be considered that Episcopacy was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in My judgement best, I may not think so absolutly necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them been so happy and successefull as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in those that pretend to other modes of Government, I might suspect My judgement to be biased, or fore-stalled with some prejudice & wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrary in the manners of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government. Nor can I find that in any Refor-

med Churches (whose paterns are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, works of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdomes (by Gods blessing) which might make me beleive either Presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuses of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to primitive & uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober people; so as Church affairs should be managed neither with tyranny, purity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbiters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integrity both of My judgment & Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest My uprightnesse, and tenderness, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborn against My Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintaine thine own Cause, let not thy Church be deformed; as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath

been

been retained in pureſt and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the obiect of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard, either to pitty, or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of my other Rights as a KING, *yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare; which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve, from ſacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſinnes and errours, who have deſerved thy iuſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wilde Boar and ſubtill Foxes, to waſt and deforme thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watred to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the the firſt Chriſtian KING *in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſions of thy Church, and the fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe, than expoſe their perſons, and ſacred functions to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it, from unreaſonable men; whoſe counſels have brought forth and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, ſchiſmes, and diſorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies.

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.

18. *Upon* Vxbridge-*treaty, and other Offers made by the* King:

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like Men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their underſtandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could ſeldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it; having greater confidence of My Reaſon, than My Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yeeld to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelfe, nor others, ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood each other.

Nor

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to prevent them with Expreſſes of My deſires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to uſe Reaſon, than Force; but alſo of Chriſtianity to *ſeek peace and enſue it*.

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My ſelf with Arms; ſo I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the ſword being very dubious, and of a Civill VVarre uncomfortable; the end had hardly recompencing, & late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did any ſucceſſe I had ever, enhance with Me the price of Peace; as earneſtly deſired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I ſought to reſerve was, Mine Honour, and My Conſcience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Chriſtian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the faireſt hopes of an happy compoſure; had others applyed themſelvs to it with the ſame moderatiõ, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended. I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, would give Me leave; nor were the remaining difference ſo eſſential to My Peoples happines; or of ſuch conſequence as in the leaſt kind to have hindred My Subjects either ſecurity or proſperity; for they beter enjoyed both, many years, before ever thoſe demands were made,

ſome of which, to deny, I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf, and favour to My ſubjects.

I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from voilent Engagements than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, muſt be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in Peace, or to loſe in warre, ſtudied to render the very name of Peace odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affaires, where I had leaſt liberty of prudence, having ſo many ſtrict tyes of Conſcience upon Me; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſetling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetouſneſſe, or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, than any true zeal, charity, or love of reformation.

I was content to yeild to all that might ſeeme to advance true piety; I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature & perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolicall pattern, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conforme thereto. From which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered only to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point

but

but that of extirpating Episcopacy, fighting against Me, I must needs argue such a softnes, & infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, than Mans peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, than crosse some mens Factious humours.

God knows, and time wil discover, who were most too blame for the un-succesfulnes of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamityes. I beleive, I am very excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of peace to my People, than the preservation of my own Crowns to my posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stifnesse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwaies to ask something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of Warre; endeavouring first to make Me destroy My self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how litle I would deny, or they grant, in order to the publik peace.

That

That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſign of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reaſons: or to ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the unſucceſſefulnes of any Treaty; was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treat: which implyed ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonablenes they were loath to have fairly ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers; than by Councellours. I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; & give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the the Sword a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our prayers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preſenting them with offers of attonement; and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelfe, who

who wantest not power or Iustice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save: so often our hearts by the bloud of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with my selfe, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to War. Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Cleare up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of War we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace; which only Christ our great Peace maker cannot merit.

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16. *Upon the various events of the Warre; Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy war, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to try Me with victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is only the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those, that fought against

againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let Me ſee that I was not wholly forſaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Me not to truſt in the arme of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My Cauſe, and thoſe that were with Me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was began by moſt riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonall and private ſins may oft times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteeme) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his owne glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of mens conſcinces, nor the eternall fate of their ſoules.

Thoſe with Me had (I thinke) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with

with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My juſt commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Armes.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flie to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears and wild fundamentals of State, (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Lawes: firſt by unſuppreſſed Tumults, after by liſted forces; The ſame allegations they uſe, wil fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the ſword; all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes & Governour; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe martyrs, who dyed, fighting againſt Me, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Eſtabliſhed. But ſober chriſtians know That glorious Title, can with Truth be applyed only to thoſe, who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantagious deſigns by any Innovation, were religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the church, & my ſelf wch. lay upon their

their Souls, both for obedience & just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause. The destruction of their bodies being sanctified as a means to save their soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better against My side in the field, but never, I belive, at the Barre of Gods Tribunall, or their owne Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those many pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their owne thoughts, then they oft were in a desperate bravery to fight against those Forces, which sometimes God gave Me.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duely values his duty, his soule, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments

joyments of this preſent life) then the moſt tri-
mphant glory, wherein their and Mine Ene-
ies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be dai-
y tormented by that horrid guilt, wher with their
uſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences doe
urſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the
orld have ſeen, how falſe & un-intended thoſe
retenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the
nly plauſibl (though not juſtifiable) grounds of
aiſing a War, and continuing it thus long a-
ainſt Me, and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe
afety and preſervation all honeſt men think the
welfare of their Countrey doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is far more honou-
able and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper
n their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might
oyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loyal-
y; and be as faithfull to God and their owne
oules, as they were to Me. That the defects of
he one might not blaſt the endeavours of the
ther. Yet I cannot thinke, that any ſhews, or
ruth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficient
o diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their
Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo preg-
ant convictions, on mens conſciences, that even
profaner men are moved by the ſence of them
o venture their lives for me.

I never had any victory which was without
My ſorrow, becauſe it was on mine owne Sub-
jects, who like Abſolom, died many of them in
their

their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any defeate, which made Me deſpair of Gods mercy and defence. I never deſired ſuch Victoryes, as might ſerve to conquer; but only reſtore the Laws and Libertyes of My People; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with my Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave me, or denyed Me Victory; My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things to work together for my good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the Warr, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and my Freinds to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for victory over others, than over my ſelf. When the firſt was denyed; the ſecond was granted me, which God ſaw beſt for Me. The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winnow us: That, by puniſhing our ſinnes, he might purge them from us; & by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to priſe and better to uſe ſo great a bleſſing.

My often Meſſages for Peace ſhewed, that I delighted not in Warre: as my former Conceſſians ſufficiently teſtified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedneſs for it, how little I intended it.

The

The conſcience of my Innocency forbade me to feare a Warre; but the love of my Kingdomes commanded me (if poſſible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing, but this, That I gave ſuch advantages to ſome men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to uſe with that modeſty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had I yeilded leſſe, I had been oppoſed leſſe; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occaſions of the Warre: I wiſh only a happy concluſion of ſo unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our ſinnes was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the divine juſtice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to deſtroy one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that ſave our ſinnes un-ſubdued; fluſhing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more againſt our ſelves, and leſs againſt God, we ſhall ceaſe fighting againſt one another; I pray God theſe may all

meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civill Warres, that I may know better to obey God, and governe my People, and they may learn better to obey both God and me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to me, then all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf, and my Enemies by patience; which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſomtimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of piety thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings which follow our diſaſterous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength, thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomthing, and when we are nothing; that thou mayſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knoweſt, how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evill from my Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evills which they compell me to inflict upon them; puniſhing my ſelf in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered

conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer: I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which only can be ſufficient for me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt reformed, that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of theſe civill diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, and ſuch ſelf-deniall, as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutuall diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If O Lord, as for the ſins of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of warre; ſo for the ſins of war thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy Servant, and all loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace, which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which, with infinite unwillingneſſe and grief, hath been ſhed by me, in my juſt and neceſſary defence, but waſh me with that precious blood, which hath been ſhed for me, by my great Peace-maker, Ieſus Chriſt who will, I truſt, redeem me ſhortly out of all my troubles: For, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour me so far, as to make me an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should be glad to see it done.

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reforme what the indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see, after the freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes established, and the Religion setled; which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming; with how much partiality, and popular compliance the passions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the publique, and the infinite scandall of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church: what novelties of Schismes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confusions in sacred admin-stra-

tions;

tions; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergie; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of me, have followed (as ſhowres do warme gleames) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes, and, with my ſelfe, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeal, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councells, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſells as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo it's like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of Church Affaires, I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedome and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited

and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution, at least, as of Primitive and Universall practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not, by secret incroachments of hopes, and feares, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches; the Lawes in force, and my consent; which is never to be gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on my understanding.

For I conceive, that, where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbytery,

bytery, what with reaſon or diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither juſt, as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Preſbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſells; and (ſuch I believe) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens deſignes: which, no doubt, many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations, and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſts Government; Throne, Scepter, and Kingdome (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fixed on new modells, as faire colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windowes, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling downe of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind, to thank God, for that

clearer light, wherein they live; The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties, and private abilities, in the Publike ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make, of ſeeming, at leaſt, to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other offices; The ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes, and Confeſſions of Faith new dreſt, importing as much; as if there had been no ſound or cleare Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before ſome foure or five yeares conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt Principles of Religion.

All theſe, and the like, are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to doe) and may give ſome ſhort fluſhes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as Children with Babies, very much, but not very long) But all this amounts not to, nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, then when they began in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompenſe or remedy the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have

have purchaſed ſo dearly, and which have, and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would, at laſt, make it their Unanimous work, to doe Gods work, and not their owne: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought, that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo many Lawes, and long Cuſtomes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre; by the advantages of which they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make my ſelfe and all my Subjects fall down, and worſhip the Images they ſhould forme and ſet up: If there had been as much of Chriſts Spirit, for meekneſſe, wiſdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name uſed in the pretenſions, to reforme all to Chriſts Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods bleſſing, and produced more of Chriſts Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Chriſtians.

Publique Reformers had need firſt Act in private, and practice that on their owne hearts, which they purpoſe to trie on others; for Deformities within, will ſoon betray the pretenders of publike Reformations, to ſuch private deſigns as muſt needs hinder the publike good.

I am ſure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot conſiſt with that of perturbing the Civill State; nor can Religion be juſtly advanced by depreſſing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefeſt Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Chriſts Kingdome may be ſet up without pulling downe Mine; nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Chriſtians, that approve not themſelves good Subjects.

Chriſts Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; ſince as I own mine from him, ſo I deſire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had ſome men truly intended Chriſt's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been ſo ill-governed in in their words, and actions, both againſt me and one another.

As good ends cannot juſtifie evill meanes, ſo nor will evill beginnings ever bring forth good concluſions; unleſſe God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſſe, order out of our confuſions, and peace out of our paſſions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes, and Truth for Hypocriſie; ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaicall wiſh-

ings,

ings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own soules.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment, and uprightnesse of heart be means to reform what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divisions and confusions what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weakneſse of their judgments, so bring us at last more refined out of these fires by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations, wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or srcriledge, may have any influence upon their counsells, whom thy providence in just and lawfull wayes shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary work: that I and my People may be so blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

21. *Upon*

21. *Upon his Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of my Letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they knew not how with honour and civility to use it; Nor doe I think, with sober and worthy minds, any thing in them could tend so much to my reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: the greatest experiments of vertue and noblencsse being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and secrecie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without any of those dresses, or popular captations, which some men

men use in their Speeches, and Expresses; I wish my Subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover, how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happinesse, and that extreme griefe to see them both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by my Letters, than to see my constancie to my VVife, the Lawes, and Religion. Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of my Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who loves me, or the Common-wealth; since my Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace and liberties while I am oppressed.

The world may see how soon mens designe, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities: but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of my intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expressions can doe them; for

for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of my chief purposes cannot be so obtained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more than an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to my own, then my Peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those my Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act my owne, and My Kingdomes Affaires, so as becomes a Prince; which mine enemies have alwaies been very loath should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evill Counsellours.

It's probable some men will now look upon me as my owne Counsellour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my selfe: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my owne Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing me to think their Counsells to be other then good for me, which have so long maintained a Warre against me.

The

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines the greateſt eſteem and applauſe, as adverſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwaies the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſignes as thoſe: that moſt rout and waſte my Credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all meanes to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle againe, ſo as to recover mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my life, and my Kingdomes; Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to live, nor worthy to Reigne; By exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall juſtice can, and will over-

rule

rule the moſt perverſe wills and deſignes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I think, that by the ſurprize of my Letters, I have loſt any more than ſo many Papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity which ought to be pay'd to all men, and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of reſpect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, preſent, and after-times will judge. And I cannot think that their owne conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the divine approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect and filiall tenderneſſe, which *Noahs* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of Servants*; which curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeek by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar; and confirme, by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions be ever either excuſable, or proſperous, who thought

by

by this meanes to expoſe me to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that duty of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any reall uncomelineſſe; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believe, hath made me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred me as a vile Perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered, under any notion of Majeſty.

But thou, ô Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affairs; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſell of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his own ruine; ſo canſt thou defeat their deſigne, who intended, by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious & contemptible to my People.*

I muſt firſt appeale to thy Omniſcience, who canſt witneſſe with my integrity, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſcandalous miſconſtructions are, which my Enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt me, ſo to return on their owne heads, that they may be a-

ſhamed, and covered with their owne confuſion, as with a cloake.

Thou ſeeſt how mine Enemies uſe all means to cloud mine Honor, to pervert my purpoſes, and to ſlander the footſteps of thine Annointed.

But give me an heart content to be diſhonoured for thy ſake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpoſe to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by reſtoring to me the injoyment of that Power and Majeſty, which thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to ſeeke to deprive me of, or by beſtowing on me that crowne of Chriſtian patience, which knowes how to ſerve thee in honour, or diſhonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodneſſe, and honour; thou art colathed with excellent Majeſty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wiſdome, juſtice, and mercy, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honour and Majeſty, which becomes the Place in which thou haſt ſet me; who art the lifter up of my head and my ſalvation.

Lord, by thy grace, lead me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Upon His Majeſties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdomes, yet in theſe he hath not now left me any place, where I may with Safety

Safety and Honour reſt my Head: Shewing me that himſelfe is the fafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of defence, in which I may put my Truſt.

In theſe extremities, I look not to man ſo much as to God; He will have it thus; that I may wholly caſt my ſelf, and my now diſtreſſed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſity is now my Counſellour, and commands me to ſtudy my ſafety by a diſguiſed withdrawing from my chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who firſt began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compoſe them.

This my confidence of Them, may diſ-arme and overcome them; my rendring my Perſon to them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt me, but for me.*

I muſt now reſolve the riddle of their Loyalty; and give them opportunity to let the world ſee, they mean not what they do, but what they ſay.

Yet muſt God be my chiefeſt Guard; and My Conſcience both My Counſellour and My Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerve my Soule to God, and my ſelfe; nor ſhall any neceſſity

compell me, to desert mine Honour, or swerve from my Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of unusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend my self; but to put me upon using their power, who seem to fight against me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes be, that their greatest danger may be in their supposed safety, and their safety in their supposed danger.

I must now leave those, that have adhered to me, and apply to those that have opposed me; this method of Peace may be more prosperous, than that of Warre, both to stop the effusion of bloud, and to close those wounds already made: and in it I am no lesse solicitous for My Friends safety, than mine owne; chusing to venture my selfe upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is some skill in play to know when a game is lost; better fairly to give over, than to contend in vaine.

I must now study to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reason and Religion

Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up my Soules liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thank God, no ſucceſſe darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think my ſelfe weakned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclipſe of outward fortune ſhall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupply with inward reſolutions; not morofely to deny, what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing, which Reaſon and Religion bids me deny.

I ſhall never think my ſelf, leſſe than my ſelf, while I am able thus to preſerve the Integrity of my Conſcience, the onely Jewell now left me, which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Soules, the onely Commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I ſtill commend my ſelf.

As thou haſt preſerved me in the day of Battaile, ſo thou canſt ſtill ſhew me thy ſtrength in my weakneſſe.

Be thou unto me in my darkeſt night, a pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me; in the day of my hotteſt affliction, be alſo a pillar of cloud to overſhadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not any perverſeneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honor, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe, that by force have ſought to wreſt them from Mee.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good conſcience alwayes accompany me, in my ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of my ſoule, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my wayes to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

23. *Upon*

23. *Vpon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh; *and his Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them further, than to men: If I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorry they ſhould doe it; and that my price ſhould be ſo much above my Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſaies, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himſelfe; who never faileth them that truſt in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* break under the hand of him that leanes on them, yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods providence commands me to rerire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoy my ſelfe, which I loſe, while I let out my hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leiſure enough to ſtudy the worlds vanity, and inconſtancy

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedom, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare my ſoul in ſinne, nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more inſolent, my Friends aſhamed, or my Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſe to triumph, that they have got my Perſon into their power; ſince my Soule is ſtill my owne: nor ſhall they ever gaine my Conſent againſt my Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy; from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not evill Counſellours with me, but a good Conſcience in me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring mee to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh me, not more a King, and far leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint: which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The feare of men ſhall never be my ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle my ſoule:

ſoule: Better others betray me than my ſelfe; and that the price of my liberty ſhould be my Conſcience: the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted; nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroy my ſelfe and mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo dear to me, as the peace of my Conſcience, the Honour of my Crownes; and the welfare of my People; which my word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The Lawes will, by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or Death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, his Souls, his Peoples and Poſterities thraldome.

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this

this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew my Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, than with them; happily, I might redeem my ſelf to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, what ever becomes of me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left me alone.

For thou O God, infinitely good, and great, art with me, whoſe preſence is better than life; and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.

Own me for thy ſervant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complain for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe me ſtill with Reaſon as a Man, with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with conſtancy in juſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may injoy thy ſelf; and which cannot be taken from me againſt my will.

Let no fire of affliction boile over my paſſion to any impatience, or ſordid fears.

There be many ſay of me, There is no help for me: doe thou lift up the light of thy countenance upon me, and I ſhall neither want ſafety, liberty, nor majeſty.

Give me that meaſure of patience and conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My

My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Perſon reſtrained; ô be not thou far from me, leſt my Enemies prevaile too much againſt me.

I am become a wonder and a ſcorne to many: ô be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon me for good, that they that hate me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldſt have me.

Be mercifull to me, ô Lord, for my ſoule truſteth in thee: yea and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill theſe calamities be overpaſt.

Ariſe to deliver me, make no long tarrying, ô my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou ladeſt me through the vale and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I fear none ill.

24. *Upon their denying His Majeſty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all other Civill comforts and ſecular Attendants, I thought the

the abſcence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of my Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learning, piety, and prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to ſuſtaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpirituall harveſt of grace amidſt the thornes, and after the plowings of temporall croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined me unto, adds the Wilderneſſe to my temptations; for, the company they obtrude upon me, is more ſad than any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdomes, it had been no wonder to have been denied in thoſe things, where the evill policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurious uſurpation: But to deny me the Ghoſtly comfort of my Chaplaines, ſeemes a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy; as not aiming at

once

once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Soules.

But my Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angell; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to be.

They that envy my being a King, are loath I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive me of all things else, They are afraid I should save my soule.

Other sense Charity it selfe can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplaines.

I have sometime thought the Unchristiannesse of those denialls might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers: whom though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for any present Comforters or Physitians; who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them so apt for that devotionall compliance, and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices, to be performed with me, and for me; since their judgements standing at a distance from me, or in jealousie of me, or in opposition against

gainſt me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable, whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutuall Love and Charity.

Some remedies are worſe then the diſeaſe, and ſome Comforters more miſerable then miſery it ſelfe; when, like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perſwade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy; and, by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function, that I have hazarded My owne Intereſts, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintaine their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more to appeare as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomly required by ſome of them, who may live to repent no leſſe for my ſufferings, than their owne ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I thought

thought I might have leave to make choice of some for my ſpeciall Attendants, who were both approved in my judgement, and moſt ſuitable to my affection. For, I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to heare no mens prayers, than to be forced, or ſeem to comply with thoſe Petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoule.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſſe, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravity, as ſhewes the Speaker to be at once conſiderate of Gods Majeſty, the Churches honour, and his owne Vileneſſe; both knowing what things God allows him to aſk, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelf, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publique Formes of Prayers, as are fitted to the Churches and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyne my heart unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which as I doe not wholly exclude from publique

publique occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others; doe require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the maine and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant, and occaſionall, ſolitary, and ſocial Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall minds with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of my own Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; In the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted; And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certaine rule and Canon of devotion be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagances of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe, which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-Prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But, I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli*, than to that of *Væ vobis Hypocritis*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

P

It may be, I am esteemed by my Denyers sufficient of My self to discharge My duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regall and Sacerdotall, might will become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, David, and Solomon; not more famous for their Scepters and Crownes, than one was for devout Psalmes and Prayers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater Honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods wisdome & providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings, of Priests, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewish & Christian Churches; I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of Kinglypower and Soveraignty, would no lesse enforce Me to live many Months without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unlesse I become My owne Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I looke upon as more prevalent than My own, or other mens, by how much they flow from minds more enlightned, & affections lesse distracted, than those which are uncombred with secular affairs, besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptablenesse attends those duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, & within the limits of that calling to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men: and however, as to that Spirituall Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his merits daily offers it self and its services to God, every private believer is a King & Priest, invested with the honour of a Royall Priesthood; yet, as to Ecclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was always bred to more modest, and I think, more pious principles: the consciousnesse to My Spirituall defects makes me more prize & desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Me; especially in these extremities, to wch God hath bin pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them

them nothing more, but My life to take from me, and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny Me, than this of having some means afforded Me for My Soules comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them, but only this, that they may seem too able and too wel affected toward me and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, than of any other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children; since from these indeed more of humane and temporary affections; but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that, in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach me & help My infirmities in prayer, reading and meditation (as I hope he will) I shall need no other, either Orator or Instructer.

To Thee therefore, O my God, doe I direct my now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme my heart, both by inſtructing of me, and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: from thee all-ſufficiency: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelfe; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, & by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the ioynt and ſociated Devotions of others, whoſe fervencie might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of Ioy and gladneſſe, worſhiping thee in the unity of ſpirits, and with bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the Houſe top, and as a coale ſcattered from all thoſe pious

glowing

gaſings, and devout reflections, which might beſt kindle, preſerve, and encreaſe the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of prayers, and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruized Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſſ; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denialls of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſſe deſire. O let the hardnes of their hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for Them. Let their hatred kindle my love; let their unreaſonable denialls of my Religious deſires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe enline thine eare to me; who art a God eaſie to be intreated; thine eare is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not heare; nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help Me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church, but they cannot debarre me from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy ſacrifice, and thine Altar; while

from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears my self to thee: who preparest me for thee, dwellest in me, and accepteſt of me.

Thou, O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplyes & miraculous infuſions, that the handful of meal in the veſſell ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruiſe fail the Widow during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of My Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe than to feed from thoſe hands who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather torme nting than teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are cleer for their ſubiection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayrs) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God. O Let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From

From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver Me, O Lord and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoule, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O my King and my God.

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25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the *Kings* ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve eare to my words O Lord, conſider my Meditations, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſt I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is don amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my ſins before thee which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offence.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonall, and my Peoples ſinnes; which are ſo far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory, and my Subiects good: Thou haſt now

brought Me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subiects: Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my heart to Thee, & thy grace towards Me.

I come far short of Davids *piety; yet since I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give Me also the comforts and the sure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my sins, be an evidence to me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the Evils, which I and my Kingdomes have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee [O Lord] unto Me; have mercy upon Me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my heart are enlarged; O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindnesse in displeasure?

O Remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindnesse, which have been for many Generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy goodnes in the land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fiery tryall consume the dross, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseryes, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity make up in patience and repentance.

And

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of iuſtice muſt be ſtretched out ſtill; Let it, I beſeech thee, be againſt me, and my Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they done?

Let my ſufferings ſatiate the malice of Mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the meaſure of my charity.

Baniſh from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou the glory of my patience.

As thou giveſt me a heart to forgive them, ſo I beſeech thee doe thou forgive what they have done againſt thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given me an heart to pray unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember me, and My Kingdoms; In continuing the light of thy Goſpell, and ſetling thy true Religion among us.

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws and the due execution of Juſtice.

In ſuppreſſing the many Schiſms in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt reſtore me and mine to the ancient Rights and glory of my Predeceſſours.

If thou wilt turne the hearts of My people to thy ſelf in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the ſcourge of theſe Civill Wars.

If

If thou wilt bleſs us with the freedom of publique Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolency of the Vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, & ſpoilings of thy Church.

If Thou wilt reſtore Me to a capacity to gloreſie Thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my ſoule praiſe thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be My chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule my People with iuſtice, and my Kingdomes with equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever owne at the righfull ſucceſſion, ſo the mercifull reſtauration of My Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with peace, ſafety, & honour, to my chiefeſt City, and my Parliament.

If thou wilt againe put the Sword of Iuſtice into my hands to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enioy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian Charity, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what

it

is past, *in regard of any particular iniury done to* me.

we have been mutually pnnished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, & for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart That I will use all means in the wayes of amnesty, and indempnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all iealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feyned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from Me.

O my soule, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my people and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

26. *Upon the Armies Surprisall of of the* King *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing destractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; since little practise will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion, like others of the Times, seemes excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, than in vaine to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger striving to prevaile against the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.

So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the

the center, and not to divide from each other; so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babell* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Ierusalem*, to divide their Tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and sounds too like the fury of those Zealots, whose intestine bitternesse and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatall destruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Prison, but not my captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that those, who are so much professed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Liberty of their *King*; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason deny to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigour, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without my consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted, from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commission,

Commiſsion, but that of their own wil and power. Such, as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not bethought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on any deſigne they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and the City: which, ſoon after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; aud ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſeut terrours and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Iuſtice; they, that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Arms, muſt now be chaſtened by their own Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one ſinne, but adde ſin to ſin, till the later puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me, and many Members of both Houſes, driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, to defend themſelves againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens juſtice? the Members of both houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as my ſelfe was forced to doe) from the rudeneſſe of the Tumults, were counted deſertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament. Such as ſtayed then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament

ment-men: now the Flyers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the tumults, & vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abbettors of tumultuary inſolencies, and Betrayers of the Freedom and Honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, & Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages then their conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults hold good, the Authors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have done the Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will puniſh, by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them do, or ſuffer, any thing unworthy ſuch

such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking: I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despaire of their Loyalty to Me; which mistakes might eclipse, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the storm be yet wholly passed over them; upon whom I look, as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, as objects of My prayers and teares, with compassionate griefe; foreseeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindnesse frequently attending and punishing wilfull, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrow, who would not timely repent of their sin; nor shall they be suffered to enjoy the comfort, who securely neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not far from becomming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gaine a faire period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of fansie, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully

see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the known Laws, then to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grows weary of it selfe, and ends in a refractory sullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it necessary, in order to the publike peace that they should be satisfied, as far as is just; no man being more prone to consider them then My selfe: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valour and gallantry they have sometime shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintaine My Selfe, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom thy Iustice hath divided.

Deliver me from the strivings of My People, and make Me to see how much they need My Prayers and pity, who agreed to fight against Me; and yet are now ready to fight against one another;

to the continuance of My Kingdomes distractions.

Discover to all sides the wayes of peace, from which they have swarved: which consists not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the point and due observation of the Lawes.

Make Me willing to go whither thou wilt lead Me by thy providence; and be thou ever with Me that I may see thy constancy in the worlds variety and changes,

Make me even such as thou wouldst have Me, that I may at last enioy that safety and tranquility which thou alone canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath iustly hanging over those populous Cityes, whose plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to security, and their security exposing them to unexpected miseries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glory and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Theach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long un-disarmed and un-destroyed, who, with a high hand persisting to fight; gainst thee & the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Iustice, their riches to others injuryes, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though

Though they have with much forwardneſſe helped to deſtroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not ſo much conſider, either what they have done, or I have ſuffered, (chiefly at firſt by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon, and in my dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they know not what they did.

The teares they have denied me in my ſaddeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves who the leſſe they were for me, the more cauſe they have to weep for themſelves.

O let not my bloud be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Me.

But thou O Lord, canſt and wilt (as thou diſt my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercy then of mans cruelty, or thy owne Iuſtice.

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27. To

27. To the Prince of VVales,

SOn, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the cheif paſſages, which hath been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſigned; they may be ſo far uſefull to you, as to ſtate your judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give you ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is ſome kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint, when I find My leiſure & ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of My ſelf, and uſefull to you; That neither you, nor any other, may hereafter meaſure My Cauſe by the Succeſſe, nor My Judgement of things, by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, becauſe they have ſo farr lighted upon you, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love, as well as My ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe, then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſdome you have above other Princes; that you have begunne and now ſpent ſome years of diſcretion, in the

experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as Trees set in Winter) then in the warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwayes remember they are borne, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy VVrit affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboham*: The one prepared, by many afflictions, for a flourishing Kingdome; the other unsoftned by the unparalel'd prosperity of *Solomons* Court: and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adversity, like could weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be *Charles Le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath designed you to both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and Gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose

you

you to thoſe Princely endowments, & employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign diſpoſer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth down one, and ſetteth up another.

The beſt Government, & higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to, is, to be ſubject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civill Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publike Peace.

Piety will make you proſperous; at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that looſeth all, yet ſaveth his own Soul at laſt.

To which center of true Happineſſe God, I truſt, hath and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of Affliction, which he hath bin pleaſed to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that cup, whereof I have liberally drank; which I look upon as Gods phiſick, having that in healthfulneſſe, which it wants in pleaſure. Above all I would have you, as I hope you are already, well-grounded & ſetled in your

Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of *England*, in which you have been educated, yet I would have your own Iudgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your owne Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as comming neareſt to Gods VVord for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſoms little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vaine. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your ſoule, then your Kingdoms peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Divell of Rebellion doth commonly turne himſelfe into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeale.

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſettled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you and yours, under pretenſions of forming matters of Religion; for that ſeemes, even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

VVhere

Where, beſides the Novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affection, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities whereto they are conſcious, by ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions: or applying to any publick diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your judgement, and the Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide gaines you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſſe and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of Power, that you ſhall not need to feare or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their curteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of loyalty, juſtice, or humanity, than from thoſe, who engage into religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not only with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Iacob's* voyce, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable then the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeeres; ſo compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humors fall to the diſſaffected part, which cauſes inflamations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion,

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Maſters: till time and military ſucceſſe, diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes; and, leaving the joynt ſtock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits & preferments, to the breaking and undoing not only of the Church, and State, but even of Presbytery it *Selfe*, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concern Religion & the churches peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectuall ſuppreſſing Errours and Schiſms; which ſeem at firſt but as a hand bredth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong winds, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When

When you have done juſtice to God, your owne ſoule and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next maine hinge on which your proſperity will depend, and move, is, that of civil Juſtice, wherein the ſetled Lawes of theſe Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the moſt excellent rules you can governe by; which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty, and happineſſe; and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whoſe ſubjection, as it preſerves their property, peace, and ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh your rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Lawes to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your head with ſuch a Crown, as, ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body the weakneſſe of whoſe parts cannot returne any things of ſtrength, honour, or ſafety, to the head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed and exerciſed in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Lawes; there being nothing worſe than legall Tyranny.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſhed Religion and Lawes, I may (without vanity

vanity) turn the reproach of My ſufferings, as to the worlds cenſure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome; as to the teſtimony of my own Conſcience; The Troublers of My Kingdomes have nothing elſe to object againſt Me but this, That I preferre Religion and Laws eſtabliſhed before thoſe alterations they propounded.

And ſo indeed I doe, and ever ſhall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto hath been chiefly uſed towards Me, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learne that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Intereſt, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removal of theſe preſſures, and indignities, which his juſtice, by the very unjuſt hands of ſome of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retaine in My ſoule, what I beleive is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving only what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injury to My owne Soule, the Church, and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdoms.

To

for which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring you, as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to You, is; That You seriously consider the former, reall, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any mans single councell, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your selfe, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgement, which is likely to be alwayes more constant and impartiall to the interests of your Crowne and Kingdom then any mans.

Next, beware of exasperating any Factions by the crosnesse, and asperity of some mens passions, humours, and private opinions; imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts & suburbs of religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whō rougher opposition fortifies; and puts the despised and oppressed Party into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors; who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attends all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religon.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent

insolent opposition of Laws, and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them; such motions and minings are intollerable.

Alwaies keep up solid piety, and those fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer wayes of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions, (for so I must needs call and count all those, that Act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that have adheered to the Lawes, and to Mee) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivarly, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time

Time will diſſipate all factions when once the rough horns of private mens covetous and ambitious deſignes ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not leſſe cruell, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But, as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow't thoſe diſguiſes, My charge and councel to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any deſignes, (as other men,) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe & oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither fear any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and mask of goodneſſe) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt expectations of Your People; who cannot in reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any ſubjects noveltis, as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

WHen theſe mountains of congealed factions ſhall by the ſunſhine of Gods mercy, and the ſplendour of your virtues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, that none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Con-

Consciences, than those men, that entitle themselves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them; onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray You to any study of revenge upon those, whose own sinne and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts, and clemency, to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equall the angnish of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws; and which might serve to exclude all future Jealousies and securities.

I would have You alwayes propense to the same way; when ever it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and, I thank God, I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have don amisse, have don so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and you, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours, and our injuries, will feel in their own Soules most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make some repatations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; so the Nobleness of Your mind must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conscious You shall be to Your own merits, upon your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of Gods mercy, & My Subjects affections towards you; both which, I hope, you wil study to deserve; yet we cannot merit of God, but by his own mercy. If God shall see fit to restore Me, and You after Me, to those enjoyments, which the Lawes have assigned to Us; and no Subjects, without an high degree of guilt and sinne can devest us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I shal be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to Gods glory, your own honour, and the kingdoms peace.

But, if You never ſee My face againe, God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcurity, (which the perfecting ſome mens deſignes require) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Me; I do require & entreat You as Your Father, and Your *King*, that You never ſuffer Your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world; not only in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meanneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may happily need ſome ſweetning, or polliſhing; which might here have eaſily been done by a ſafe and gentle hand; if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude Alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportion of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to you againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily Anſwered to them, or Your own

thoughts

ghts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath
been a Beginner, or an active proſecutor of this
late VVarre againſt the Church, the Lawes, and
the, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or
Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed
in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor
ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe
to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes
and Parliaments, which others of the ſame *Facti-*
on (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execu-
tion: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly zeal
abate Your value and eſteem of true piety; both
of them are to be *known by their fruits*; the ſweet-
neſſe of the Vine & Fig-tree is not to be deſpi-
ſed, though the Brambles & Thorns ſhould pre-
tend to bear Figs and Grapes thereby to rule o-
ver the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertaine any aver-
ſion or diſlike of Parliaments; which, in their
right conſtitution with Freedome and Honour,
will never injure or diminiſh Your greatneſſe,
but will rather be as interchangings of love, loy-
alty, and confidence, between a Prince and His
People.

Nor would the events of this blacke Parlia-
ment have been other then ſuch (however
much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if
it had been preſerved from the inſolencyes of
popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſi-
ons: The ſad effects of which will, no doubt,

make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the publique intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in faire, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by publique conſent; without tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholſome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever reſtored to Our Rights, but God, in his ſevereſt juſtice, will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in their ſinne, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give Me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Vs, to want, as well as to weare a Crowne; which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon ſordid, diſhonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A principall point of your honour will conſiſt in your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having beene a meanes to bleſſe

leſſe Me with ſo many hopefull Children; all which, with their Mother, I recommend to your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me; and you.

My prayer to God Almighty, is, (what ever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in My owne Innocency, and his grace) that he would be pleaſed to make you an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by your wiſdome, Iuſtice, piety, and valour, of what the folly and wickedneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crowne, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how farre *God* may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but My bloud will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the people, who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders; whoſe inward horrour will be their firſt Tormenter, nor will they eſcape exemplary judgements.

For thoſe that loved Me, I pray God, they may have no miſſe of Me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfyed with the bleſſings of Your preſence & virtues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects, in their duty toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King, ſo I beleive You will find them truly zealous, to repay with intereſt that Loyalty and love to you, which was due to Me.

In ſumme, what good I intended, do you performe; when God ſhall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince My reſtraint and cruell uſage, that they fought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times I hope attend you; wherein Your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their ſin & their infelicity

And if God bleſſe You, and eſtabliſh your Kingdomes in righteouſneſſe, your Soule in true Religion, and your honour in the love of God and your People.

And

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My memory ever, with My name, live in You; as of your Father, that loves you: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the Scepter and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My owne Conscience; which, I thank *God*, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know *God* can, I hope he yet will, restore Me to My Rights: I cannot despaire either of his mercy, or of My Peoples love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which *God* hath prepared for Me, and Me for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend you and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresse, and His Maiesties Close Imprisonment in Carisbrooke Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, & prepare for My Death: for, I know, there are but few steps between the Prisons and graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives Me the space; but Mans cruelty, that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burden of mortality, which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies, and cruell passions, whose envy or enmity against Me makes their owne lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperity made Me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwayes uncertain: Death being an eclipse, which oft happineth as well in clear, as cloudy dayes.

But My now long and sharp adversity hath so re-

reconciled in Me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that thank God, the common terrours of it are dispelled; and the speciall horour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although my death at present may justly be represented to Me with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affaires being drawne to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his death against them, which, as to the immaturity, unjustice, shame scorn, and cruelty of it, exceeded what ever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did find so much the life of Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and constancy, as since I came to these closet conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to die; if I did not consider, that it is the greatest glory of christians life to dye daily, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partiall and quotidian deaths, which kills us (as it were) by peicemeales and make us over-live our own FATES; while we are deprived

deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate; & those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My selfe to live in nothing temporall so much as in the love and good-will of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me, having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it selfe seems desirable to men. But, O My Soule! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know, that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of wearinesse of life; and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shaddows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body;

and

which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sun of prosperity moves higher or lower : whoſe small abſence is beſt recompenſed with the dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible; like Samſon's Lyon, but they yeeld much ſweetneſſe to thoſe, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt dye as a man, is certain; that I may dye a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſodain & barbarous death; in the ſtrength of my years, in the midſt of My Kingdoms; My friends and loving Subjects being helples Spectators; My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over me; living, dying, & dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon; that God hath taught me not to hope otherwiſe as to mans cruelty; however, I deſpair not of Gods infinite marcy.

I know my life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice; but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſall: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to dye, but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in Life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to me. I confeſſe it is not eaſie for me to contend with thoſe many horrors of death, wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſſe

neſſe of a barbarous Aſſaſination; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby my Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be, ſeek to add (as thoſe did who Crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of malice; That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with les pitty, it wil be but a neceſſary pollicy to make my death appeare as an act of Juſtice, don by Subjects upon their Soveraigne, who know that no Law of God or Man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without me, much leſſe againſt me: and who, being ſworn, and bound by all that is ſacred before God and Man, to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraigne; wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publike Troubles, muſt by ſhedding my blood ſeem to waſh their owne hands of that innocent bloud whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and Man; and I beleive in their own Conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable Demands; Firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane ſpirits more towardly-cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours

rigours than this, the *Guilt of their uniuſt Uſurpation:* notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents applyed only to diſguize at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyeard, till the heire whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlaine.

With them my greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelfe with the Church and State by my Word; or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſsions of Mine could ever yet either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is likely they will ever think, that Kingdome of brambles which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or Man) is like to thriue till watred with the Royal bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is. Wel, Gods will be don, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my protectour, and my Advocate who is my only Iudge, whom I owne as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and Majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, & Religion on earth) as there be either men or Devills, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe Men long to proſper

sper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my death amongst themselves; the injuries I have susteined from them shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of My bloud, shall make them thinke no way better to expiate it, than by shedding theirs; who, with them, most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions following my destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those I have lived to see since My troubles; in which God alone (who only could) hath many wayes pleaded my cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacy in sin was their only security; who have cause to fear that God wil both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterwards destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up death in the Victory of his Resurrection, and the glory of his Ascention.

My next comfort is, that he gives me not onely the honour to imitate his example in suffering for righteousnesse sake, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and injustice) but also, that charity, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victory over My

Destroyers;

royers: By which, I thank God, I can both give them, & pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christs bloud to wash their soules from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seems to be their only rule, their power the measure, and their successe the Exactor, of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their owne safety by My danger, and the security of their lives and reignes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to sinne are wrapped up in seeming prosperities, so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes. I blesse God, I pray not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may passe from Me, as that of his warth may passe from all those whose hands, by deserting Me, are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to My death, are embrued with My bloud.

The will of *God* hath confined, and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from me; whose mercy, I believe,

leive, will more then infinitely recompence what ever by mans injuſtice, he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death will farre ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envyed Crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully Crowned and Conſummated his graces with Glory, and exchanged the ſhadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the ſubſtance of that Heavenly Kingdom with himſelfe.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharpe and neceſſary tyranny of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of my Subjects, who doe not onely pity and pray for me, but would be content even to dye with me, or for me.

Theſe know how to excuſe my failings; as a man, and yet to retaine and pay their duty to me as their King; there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceede, the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publike; the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I beleive, of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantaged by my ruine, doe already feel ſharp con-

victions, and ſome remorſe in their conſci-
ences: where they cannot but ſee the proporti-
ons of their evill dealings againſt me in the
meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them who
cannot hope long to enjoy their owne thumbs
and toes, having under pretence of paring others
nails, bin ſo cruell as to cut off their chiefeſt
ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and ob-
ſtinat may be like that of *Korah* and his compli-
ces (at once mutining againſt both Prince and
Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice, as is
not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and mea-
neſt people opening upon them, and ſwallow-
ing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten
and worſe-uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſup-
port and ſtrength they cheifly depended for
their building and eſtabliſhing their deſignes
againſt me, the Church and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in My
peace, which I truſt, is made with God; before
whoſe exact tribunall I ſhal not fear to appear,
as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the ſword,
between me and my cauſleſſe Enemies, where I
doubt not but his righteous judgment will con-
fute their fallacy, who from worldly ſucceſſe
(rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians)
draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods ap-
probation of their actions; whoſe wiſe provi-
dence (we know) oft permits many events which
his revealed word (the only clear, ſafe and fixed

rule of good actions & good consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident the Justice of My Cause, and clearnesse of my conscience before God and toward my people wil carry me as much above them in Gods decision, as their successes have lifted them above me in the vulgar opinion who consider not, that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousnesse and oppression of the designe. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sayles of Pyrates, doth not justifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worsted in my enforced contestation for, and Vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments; the rights of My Crown, the just liberty of My Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantanges of successe, overborn them all, as some men have now evidently done, whatever designes they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Freinds and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I shall more cheerefuly take and drink up from Gods hand (if it must be so) than they can

it

it me, whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against me.

And as to the last event, I may seeme to owe more to my Enemies, than my Freinds; while those will put a period to the sinnes and sorrows attending this miserable life wherewith these desire, I might still contend.

I shall be more then Conquerour through Christ enabling me: for whome I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have beene forced to contend against Errour, Faction and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death with my Saviour; it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised, as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although Death be the wages of my owne sinne, as from God, and the effect of other sinnes, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my owne sinnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sinnes, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned.

Both which, I pray God they may obtaine: that my temporall Death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as farre lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard; though it be very strange, that Marriners can find no other means to appease the storme, themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank *God*, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soule with my Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despaire, they have only discover'd this, that they do not much desire it.

VVhose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven, *where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.*

Thou O God, art both the iust Afflicter of Death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea

it is better for us to be dead to our selves
ve in thee, than by living in our selves to be
ved of thee.

O make the many bitter agravations of my death
a Man, and a King, the opportunities and ad-
ntages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my
le, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither fear
feel any evill, though I walk through the valey
the shadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and
rtall man; to overcome it is the grace of thee a-
e, who art the Almighty and immortal God.

O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to dye with
e, as a Man; make Me to know what it is to pass
rough death to life with thee My God.

Though I dye, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer
vest for ever: though thou slayest Me, yet thou
st incouraged me to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is bet-
er than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a
olent and cruel death is to Me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers; so thy
mnipotence can defeat the designes of those who
ve, or shall conspire my destruction.

O shew me thy goodnesse of thy will, through the
ickedness of theirs.

Thou givest me leave as a man to pray, that this
p may passe from me; but thou hast taught Me
a Christian by the example of Christ to adde, not
y will, but thine be done.

Yea

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholy resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errors of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enioy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gaine, and in death, advantage.

Though my destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my bloud, or in their gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls!

Such as have not only resisted my iust Power, but wholy usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselvs damnation.

Thou madest thy Son a Saviou to many that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his bloud be heard for his murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damme their owne Soules by fallacious pretentions of Iustice in destroying me, while the conscience of their uniust usurpation of power against me, chiefly

tempts

...s them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their merits to me as very false, so very cruell, who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deal not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men, but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy destroying Angell may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet in the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we shall live farre above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon me, O let me fall into the arms of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That what is cut off of my life in this miserable moment may be repaied in thy ever, blessed eternity.

Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

A

Perfect Copie of

PRAYERS,

Used by His

MAJESTIE

In the time of His

Sufferings

Delivered to Doctor Iuxon, *Bishop of* LONDON, *Immediatly before his Death.*

Also a Copy of a Letter from the PRINCE.

Printed *Anno Domini* 1649.

A Prayer in time of Captivitie.

O Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is so great that it may resist; or so small, that it is contemned; look upon My misery with thine eye of Mercy, & let Thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto Me, as to Thee shal seem most convenient; let not Injury, O Lord, triumph over Me; and let My faults by thy hand be corrected; & make not My unjust enemies the ministers of thy Justice: But yet my God, if in Thy wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for my unexcusable transgressions; if this ingratefull bondage be fittest for my overhigh desires; if the pride of my (not enough humble) heart be thus to be broken O Lord, I yeeld unto Thy will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have Me suffer: Onely thus much let Me crave of Thee, (Let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from Thee) that by thy goodnes which is Thy self, Thou wilt suffer some beam of thy Majesty so to shine in My mind, that I, who in My greatest Afflictions acknowledge it My noblest Tytle to be thy creature, may still depend

confidently on Thee. Let Calamity be the exercise but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to My destruction. And if it be Thy will that they more & more vex Me with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind, and stedfast resolution ever to serve Thee, without fear or presumption, yet with that humble Confidence which may best please Thee; so that at the last I may come to Thy eternall Kingdome through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Another PRAYER.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My selfe at the Foot-stoole of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jesus Christ in whom Thou art only well pleased; for, of My selfe I am not worthy to stand before Thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee most holy and eternall God; for as in sin I was conceived and borne, so likewise I have broken all Thy Commandements by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evill words, and wicked works; omitting many duties I ought to do, and committing many vices which

thou

Thou haſt forbidden under paine of thy heavy diſpleaſure: as for my ſins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I ſtand here liable to all the miſeries in this life, and everlaſting Torments in that to come; if Thou ſhouldſt deale with me according to My deſerts. I confeſſe, O Lord that it is Thy Mercy, (which endureth for ever) and Thy compaſſion (which never fails,) which is the cauſe that I have not been long ago conſumed: but with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies and by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I intreat Thy Divine Majeſty, that thou wouldſt not enter into judgement with Thy ſervant, nor be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, but be thou mercifull unto Me, and waſh away all My ſins with that pretious bloud that My Saviour ſhed for Me. And I beſeech thee, O Lord, not only to waſh away all My ſins, but alſo to purge my heart by thy holy ſpirit, from the droſſe of my natural corruption; & that thou doſt adde dayes to my life, ſo good Lord, I beſeech thee, to ad repentance to My dayes, that when I have paſt this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlaſting Kingdome, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer *and* Confession, *made in and for the times of Affliction.*

ALmighty and moſt mercifull Father, as it is only Thy goodneſſe that admits of Our im-

perfect Prayers, and the knowledg that thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us any hope of thy accepting or granting thē; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confesse our sins freely unto thee; & of all men living, I have most need, most reason, so to do, no man having been so much obliged by Thee, no man more grievously offending Thee: that degree of knowledge which thou hast given me, adding likewise to the guilt of my transgressions. For was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent bloud to be shed by a false pretended way of justice? or that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worship, to be set up in *Scotland?* and injured the Bishops in *England?* O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: wherfore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy mercies; for I know My repentance weak, & My prayers faulty: grant therfore merciful father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that Thou mayest cleare the way for thine own mercies, to which O let Thy Justice at last give place, putting a speedy end to My deserved afflictions.

In the mean time give Me Patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit, to chuse what is best for thy Church, and People which thou hast commited

to

My Charge. Grant this, O moſt merciſull Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A PRAYER *in time of emminent Danger.*

O Moſt merciſull Father, though My ſins are ſo many and greivous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than ſo great a deliverance, as to free Me from My preſent great danger, yet, O Lord, ſince thy mercies are over all thy works, and Thou never faileſt to relieve all thoſe who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to thee for ſuccour, it were to multiply, not diminiſh My tranſgreſsions to deſpair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly deſire Thy Divine Majeſty, that thou wilt not only pardon al My ſins, but alſo free Me out of thy hands, & protect Me frō the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wrath againſt My hainous Offenſes wil not otherwayes be ſatisfied, than by ſuffering Me to fall under My preſent afflictions, Thy will be done; yet with humble Importunity, I do and ſhall never leave to implore the aſſiſtance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cauſe, as I am thy Vicegerent may not ſuffer through My weakneſſe, or want of courage. O Lord, ſo ſtrengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My mind, that with clearneſſe I may ſhew

forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloudie Tryal, that so My sufferings here may not only glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to my salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Jesus Christ the Righteous. *Amen.*

A Copie of a Letter which was sent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the *Hague Jan.* 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of your Maiesties present condition, but such as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have sent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon your Maiesty; and to bring me an account of it: that I may withall assure your Maiesty, I doe not onely pray for your Maiesty according to my Duty; but shall alwayes be ready to do all which shall be in my power, to deserve that blessing which I now humbly beg of your Maiesty upon.*

SIR,

HAGVE
Jan. 23.
1648.

Your MAJESTIES most humble and most obedient son and servant
CHARLES.

The Superscription was thus,

For the King.

A true Relation of the KINGS Speech to the Lady ELIZABETH, and the Duke of GLOCESTER, the day before His Death.

HIS Children being come to meet Him, He first gave his blessing to the Lady *Elizabeth*; and bad her remember to tel her Brother *James*, when ever shee should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charles* as his eldest Brother only, but be obedient unto him, as his Soveraigne; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the *King* to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: And pouring forth abundance of Tears, promised Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, now they will cut off thy Fathers Head; (Upon which words the Child looked very stedfastly on him.) Mark Child what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers *Charles* and *James* do live; For they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut of thy head too at the last; and therefore, I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the child, sighing, said, I'll be torne in pieces first. Which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly. Another

Another *Relation from the Lady* Elizabeths *owne Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to me the nine and twentieth of *Jan.* 1648. being the laſt time I had the happineſſe to ſee him, He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although he had not time to ſay much, yet ſomewhat He had to ſay to me, which he had not to another, or leave in writing, becauſe he feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted him to write to Me. He wiſhed me not to greive & torment my ſelf for Him; for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould die; it being for the Laws and liberties of this land, & for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid me read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers Eccleſiaſticall Policy*, and Biſhop *Lauds* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground Me againſt Popery. He told me, He had forgiven al his Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of My Brothers and Siſters to forgive them: He bid me tell my mother, That His thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His Love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall He commanded me & my brother to be obedient to Her. And bid me ſend his Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all His Friends: So after He had given me His B'eſſing, I tooke my leave. Fur-

Further, He commanded us all to forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had bin most false to Him; and to those that gave them power, and He feared also to their own soules; And desired me not to grieve for Him, for He should dye a Martyr, And that He doubted not but the Lord would settle His Throne upon His Son, and that we should be all hapier, than We could have expected to have been, if He had lived: With many other things, which at present I cannot remember.

ELIZABETH.

Another Relation from the Lady Elisabeth.

THe KING said to the Duke of *Glocester*, that He would say nothing to him but what was for the good of his soul: He told him, that He heard that the army intended to make him King but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul; for he had two Brothers before him; & therefore commanded him upon His blessing, never to accept of it, unless it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

SO falls that ſtatly Cedar, while it ſtood
That was the onely glory of the VVood;
Great *Charles*, thou earthly God, celeſtial Man,
VVhoſe life, like others, though it were a ſpan:
Yet in that ſpan, was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean ſhore;
Thy heavenly virtues, Angels ſhould rehearſe,
It is a theam too high for humane Verſe.
He that would know the right, then let him look
Vpon Thy rare-incomparable Book,
And read it o'r and o'r, which if he do,
Hee'l find thee *King*, and *Prieſt*, & *Prophet* too;
And ſadly ſee our loſſe, and though in vain,
VVith fruitleſſe wiſhes, call thee back againe.
Nor ſhall oblivion ſit upon thy Herſe,
Though there were neither Monument,
Thy Sufferings and thy death let no man name,
It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.

J. H.

REASONS

against the pretended Iurisdiction of the high Court of Iustice; which he intended to deliver in Writing on Munday *Jan.* 22. 1648

HAving already made my protestations not onely against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly power can lawfully call me (who am your King) in question as a Delinquent; I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion, more then to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned. But the duty I owe to God, in the preservation of the true Liberty of my People, will not suffer mee at this time to be silent: For, how can any free-borne Subject of *England* call life or any thing he possesseth his own, if power without right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the present case. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have indeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds, which hinder me to Answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in England, for I will not (like you) without shewing a reason, seek to impose a belief upon my Subjects.

I was sworn, I will not suffer to speak concerning Reg-

There is no proceeding just against any man, but what is warranted either by Gods

 lawes

Lawes, or the municipall Lawes of the Country where he lives. Now I am most confident that this daies proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law; for on the contrary the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly warranted and strictly commended both in the Old and new Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the question now in hand, there it is said, that *where the word of a King is, there is Power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles.* 8.4. Then for the Lawes of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirme that an impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his name; and one of their Maximes is, *that the King can do no wrong*. Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new; if old, shew it; if new, tel me what authority warranted by the fundantall Lawes of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it selfe (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge; And it were ful as strange, that they should pretend to make Lawes without King or Lords-House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of *England*.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of Englands Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest plough

gh-man, if you demand not his free con-
nor can you pretend any colour for this
pretended Commiſsion without the con-
at leaſt of the major part of every man in
ngland, of whatſoever quality or condition,
ich I am ſure, you never went about to ſeek
far are you from having it. Thus you ſee that
peak not for my own right alone, as I am
r King, but alſo for the true Liberty of all
y Subjects, which conſiſts not in ſharing the
wer of Governmentbut in living underſuch
wes ſuch a Government as may give them-
ves the beſt aſſurance of their lives & propri-
y of their goods. Nor in this muſt or do I for-
t the Priviledges of both Houſes of Par-
ment, which this dayes proceedings doth not
ly violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt
reach of their Publike Faith that (I beleve) e-
r was heard of, with which I am far from char-
ing the two houſes: for al the pretended crimes
yd againſt me bear date long before this late
Treaty at Newport, in which I having conclu-
ded as much as in me lay, and hopefully expect-
ing the two *H*ouſes agreement thereunto I was
ſurpriſed, and hurried from thence as a priſoner,
upon which accompt I am againſt my wil
brought hither where ſince I am come, I cannot
but to my power defend the ancient laws and
liberties of this Kingdome, together with my
owne juſt right; then for any thing I can ſee the
higher Houſe is totally excluded,

And for the Houſe of Commons, it is too wel
known that the major part of them are detained

or deter'd from sitting, so as if I had no other this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulnesse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingome is not the least in my thoughs, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourish'd for many hundred years. (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawlesse unjust proceedings against me do go on) & beleive it the Commons of England will not thank you for this change, for they will remember how happy they have been of late years, under the Reign of Qu. Elizabeth, the King my Father, and my self, untill the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up were only to defend the fundamentall Lawes of this kingdome, against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the ancient Governmen.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people; I expect from you either clear reasons to convince my Judgement, shewing me that I am in an errour (& then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-hall on Monday 22. January, but against reason was hindred to shew My Reasons. FINIS.

For Mr. *Alexander Henderſon*.

His Majeſties firſt Paper.

Mr. Henderſon,

I Know very well what a great diſadvantage it is for Me, to maintaine an Argument of Divinity with ſo able and learned a man as your ſelf, it being your, not My profeſſion; which really was the cauſe that made me deſire to hear ſome learned Man argue My Opinion with you; of whoſe abilities I might be confident, that I ſhould not be led into an error, for want of having all which could be ſaid, laid open unto me: For indeed, My humour is ſuch, that I am ſtill partiall for that ſide, which I imagine ſuffers for the weakneſſe of thoſe that maintaine it; alwayes thinking that equall Champions would caſt the ballance on the other part; yet ſince that you (thinking that it will ſave time) deſire to go another way, I ſhall not conteſt with you in it, but treating you as my Phyſician, give you leave to take your own way of cure; only I thought fit to warn you, leſt if you, (not I) ſhould be miſtaken in this, you would be fain (in a manner) to begin anew.

Then know, that from My Infancy I was bleſt with the King My Fathers love, which, I thank God, was an unvaluable happineſſe to Me, all his days, and among all his cares for My education, his chief was to ſettle Me right in Religion; in the true knowledge of which, he made himſelfe ſo eminent to all the world, that I am ſure, none can call in queſtion the brightneſſe of his Fame, in that particular, without ſhewing their own ignorant baſe malice: He it was, who laid in Me

the grounds of Christianity, which to this day I have been constant in; so that whether the worthiness of My Instructor be considered, or the not few years that I have been setled in My principles, it ought to be no strange thing, if it be found no easy worke, to make me alter them; and the rather, that hitherto, I have (according to St. *Pauls* rule, *Rom.* 14. 22) been happy in *Not condemning My self, in that thing which I allow.* Thus having shewed you how, it remains, to tell you what, I believe, in relation to these present miserable distractions.

No one thing made me more reverence the Reformation of My Mother, the Church of *England*, than that it was done (according to the Apostles defence, *Acts* 24. 18.) *neither with multitude, nor with tumult*, but legally and orderly; and by those, whom I conceive to have only the reforming power; which with many other inducements, made me alwaies confident, that the work was very perfect, as to Essentialls; of which number Church Government being undoubtedly one, I put no question, but that would have been likewise altered, if their had been cause; which opinion of mine, was soon turned into more than a confidence, when I perceived that in this particular (as I must say of all the rest) we retained nothing but according as it was deduced from the Apostles to be the constant universall custom of the Primitive Church; and that it was of such consequence, as by the alteration of it, We should deprive our selves of a lawful Priesthood, & then, how the Sacraments can be duly administred, is easy to judge: These are the principall Reasons, which make Me believe that Bishops are necessary for a Church, and, I think, sufficient for Me (if I had no more) not to give My consent for their expulsion out of *England*; but I have another obligation, that to My particular, is a no less tie of Conscience, which is, My *Coronation*

Oath:

doubt: Now if (as S. *Paul* saith, *Rom.* 14. 23.) *He that doubteth is damned if he eat*, what can I expect, if I should not only give way knowingly to My peoples sinning, but likewise be perjured My selfe?

Now consider, ought I not to *keep My self from presumptuous sins?* and you know who says, *What doth it profit a man, though he should gain the whole World, and lose his own Soule?* Wherefore My constant maintenance of *Episcopacy* in *England*, (where there was never any other Government since Christianity was in this Kingdom) Me thinks, should be rather commended than wondered at; My Conscience directing Me to maintaine the laws of the Land, which being only My endeavours at this time, I desire to know of you, *What warrant there is in the word of God, for Subjects to endeavour to force their Kings Conscience, or to make him alter Law against his will?* If this be not My present case, I shall be glad to be mistaken; or, if My judgement in Religion hath been misled all this time, I shall be willing to be better directed: till when, you must excuse Me, to be constant to the Grounds which the *King My Father* taught Me.

Newcastle May 29.

1646. *C. R.*

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. *Alex. Hendersons* first Paper.

SIR,

IT is your Majesties Royall goodnesse, and not My merit, that hath made your Majesty to conceive any opinion of My abilities; which (were they worthy of the smallest testimony from your Majesty)

ought in all duty to be improved for your Majeſties ſatisfaction. And this intended in my coming here at this time, by a free, yet modeſt expreſſion of the true motives and inducements which drew my mind to the diſlike of Epiſcopall Government, wherein I was bred in my younger years in the Univerſity. Like as I did apprehend that it was not your Majeſties purpoſe to have the Queſtion diſputed by Divines on both ſides; which I would never (to the wronging of the cauſe) have undertaken alone; and which ſeldom or never hath proved an effectuall way, for finding of truth, or moving the minds of men to relinquiſh their former Tenents, *Dum res tranſit à judicio in affectum*, witneſſe the Polemicks between the Papiſts and us, and among our ſelves about the matter now in hand, theſe many years paſt.

2. Sir, when I conſider your Majeſties education under the hands of ſuch a Father; the length of time wherein your Majeſty hath been ſetled in your principles of Church-Goverment; the Arguments which have continually in privat and publick, eſpecially of late at *Oxford*, filled your Majeſties ears for the Divine right thereof; your *Coronation oath*, and divers State reaſons which your Majeſty doth not mention, I doe not wonder, nor think it any ſtrange thing, that your Majeſty hath not at firſt given place to a contrary impreſſion. I remember that the famous *Ioannes Picus Mirandula* proveth by irrefragable reaſons (which no rationall man will contradict) *That no man hath ſo much power over his own underſtanding, as to make himſelf believe what he will, or to think that to be true which his reaſon telleth him is falſe, much leſſe is it poſſible for any man to have his reaſon commanded by the will, or at the pleaſure of another.*

2. It is a true ſaying of the Schoolmen, *Voluntas imperat intellectui quoad exercitium, non quod ſpecificationem*

, Mine own will, or the will of another may command me to think upon a matter: but no will or command can constrain me to determine otherwise than my reason teacheth me. Yet *Sir*, I hope your Majesty wil acknowledg, (for your paper professeth no less) that according to the saying of *Ambrose*, *Non est malum ad meliora transire*, it is neither sin nor shame to change to the better: *Symmachus* in one of his Epistles (I think to the Emperour *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*) allegeth all those motives, from education, from prescription of time, from worldly prosperity, and the flourishing condition of the *Roman* Empire, and from the laws of the Land, to perswade them to constancy in the antient Pagan profession of the *Romans*, against the embracing of the Christian Faith. The like reasons were used by the Jewes for *Moses* against *Christ*; and may be used both for Popery and for the Papacy it self, against the Reformation of Religion and Church-Government; and therefore can have no more strength against the change now, than they had in former times.

3. But your Majesty may perhaps say, That this is *Petitio Principii*, and nothing else but the begging of the Question; and I confesse it were so, if there can be no reason brought for a Reformation or Change; your Majesty reverences the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as being done legally and orderly, and by those who had the Reforming power: and I do not deny, but it were to be wisht that Religion where there is need, were alwaies reformed in that manner, and by such power, and that it were not committed to the Prelates, who have greatest need to be reformed themselves, not left to the multitude, whom God stirreth up when Princes are negligent: Thus did *Iacob* reform his owne Family, *Moses* destroyed the golden Calf, the good Kings of *Iudah* reformed the Churches in their time: but that such refor-

mation hath been perfect, I cannot admit. *Asa* took away Idolatry, but his Reformation was not perfect, for *Jehoſaphat* removed the high places, yet was not his Reformation perfect, for it was *Hezekiah* that brake the brazen Serpent, and *Joſiah* deſtroyed the Idol-Temples, who therefore beareth this Elogie, *That like unto him there was no King before him.* It is too well known that the Reformation of K. *Hen.* 8. was moſt imperfect in the Eſſentials of Doctrine, Worſhip, and Government: And although it proceeded by ſome degrees afterward, yet the Government was never reformed, the Head was changed, *Dominus non Dominium*, and the whole limbs of the Antichriſtian Hierarchy retained, upon what ſnares and temptations of Avarice and Ambition, the great Enchantes of the Clergy, I need not expreſſe. It was a hard ſaying of *Romanorum Malleus Groſted* of *Lincoln*, That Reformation was not to be expected, *Niſi in ore gladii cruentandi*: yet this I may ſay, that the Laodicean lukewarmneſſe of Reformation here, hath been matter of continued complaints to many of the godly in this Kingdom; occaſion of more Schiſm and Separation than ever was heard of in any other Church; and of unſpeakable grief and ſorrow to other Churches, which God did bleſſe with greater purity of Reformation. The glory of this great work we hope is reſerved for your Majeſty, that to your comfort and everlaſting fame the praiſe of godly *Joſiah* may be made yours; which yet will be no diſpraiſe to your Royall Father, or *Edward* the ſixth, or any other religious Princes before you; none of them having ſo fair an opportunity as is now by the ſupreme providence put into your Royall hands. My ſoul trembleth to think and to foreſee, what may be the event, if this opportunity be neglected. I will neither uſe the words of *Mordecai*, *Eſth.* 4. 14. nor what *Savanarola* told another

Charls, becauſe I hope better things from your Majeſty.

To the Argument brought by your Majeſty (which I believe none of your Doctors, had they bin all about you, could more briefly, and yet ſo fully and ſtrongly have expreſſed) [*That nothing was retained in this Church but according as it was deduced from the Apoſtles to the conſtant univerſall practice of the primitive Church; and that it was of ſuch conſequence, as by the alteration of it, We ſhould deprive our ſelves of the lawfulneſſe of Prieſthood* (I think your Majeſty means a lawful Miniſtery) *and then how the Sacraments can be adminiſtred is eaſie to judge.*] I humbly offer theſe conſiderations: Firſt, what was not in the times of the Apoſtles, cannot be deduced fom them: We ſay in *Scotland*, it cannot be brought But, that is not the ſame; but (not to inſiſt now in a Liturgy, and things of that kinde) there was no ſuch Hierarchy, no ſuch difference betwixt a Biſhop and a Presbyter, in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore it cannot thence be deduced; for I conceive it to be as clear as if it were written with a Sun-beam, that Presbyter and Biſhop are to the Apoſtles one and the ſame thing, no majority, no inequality or difference of office, power, or degree betwixt the one and the other, but a meer identity in all. 2. That the Apoſtles intending to ſet down the Offices and Officers of the Church, and ſpeaking ſo often of them, and of their gifts and duties, and that, not upon occaſion, but of ſet purpoſe, do neither expreſſe nor imply any ſuch Paſtor or Biſhop as hath power over other Paſtors, although it be true, that they have diſtinctly and particularly expreſt the office, gifts, and duties of the meaneſt Officers, ſuch as Deacons. 3. That in the Miniſtery of the New Teſtament there is a comely, beautifull, and divine order and ſubordination; one

kinde of Miniſters both ordinary and extraordinary being placed in degree and dignity one before another, as the Apoſtles firſt, the Evangeliſts, Paſtors, Doctors, &c. in their own ranks: but we cannot finde in Offices of the ſame kinde, that one hath majority of power, or priority of degree before another; no Apoſtle above other Apoſtles (unleſſe in morall reſpects) no Evangeliſt above other Evangeliſts; of Deacon above other Deacons; why then a Paſtor above other Paſtors? In all other ſorts of Miniſters ordinary and extraordinary a parity in their own kinde, onely in the office of Paſtor an inequality. 4. That the whole power and all the parts of the Miniſtery, which are commonly called, *The power of Order and Iuriſdiction*, are by the Apoſtles declared to be common to the Presbyter and Biſhop: And that, *Matth.* 15. 16, 17. the gradation in matter of Diſcipline or Church-cenſures, is from one, to two, or more; and if he ſhall neglect them, tell it to the Church; he ſaith not tell it to the Biſhop: there is no place left to a retrogradation from more to one, were he never ſo eminent. If theſe conſiderations do not ſatisfie, your Majeſty may have more, or the ſame further cleared.

5. Secondly, I do humbly deſire your Majeſty to take notice of the fallacy of that Argument, from the the practice of the Primitive Church, and the univerſall conſent of the Fathers. It is the Argument of the Papiſts for ſuch traditions as no Orthodox Divine will admit. The Law and Teſtimony muſt be the Rule. We can have no certaine knowledge of the practice univerſall of the Church for many years; *Euſebius* the prime Hiſtorian confeſſeth ſo much: the learned *Ioſephus Scaliger* teſtifieth, That from the end of the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* untill a good time after, no certainty can be had from Eccleſiaſtical Au-

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about Church matters. It is true, *Diotrephes* ſought the preheminence in the Apoſtles times, and the myſtery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after-times ſome puffed up with Ambition, and others overtaken with weakneſſe, endeavoured alteration of Church-Government, but that all the learned and godly of thoſe times conſented to ſuch a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved.

6. Thirdly, I will never think that your Majeſty will deny the lawfulneſſe of a Miniſtery, and the due adminiſtration of the Sacraments in the Reformed Churches, which have no Dioceſan Biſhops, ſith it is not onely manifeſt by Scripture, but a great many of the ſtrongeſt Champions for Epiſcopacy, do confeſſe, that Presbyters may Ordain other Presbyters; and that Baptiſm adminiſtred by a private perſon, wanting a publick Calling, or by a Midwife, and by a Presbyter although not ordained by a Biſhop, are not one and the ſame thing.

7. Concerning the other Argument taken from your Majeſties Coronation Oath; I confeſſe, that both in the taking and keeping of an Oath (ſo ſacred a thing is it, and ſo high a point of Religion) much tenderneſſe is required: and farre bee it from us, who deſire to obſerve our own Solemne Oath, to preſſe your Majeſty with the violation of yours. Yet Sir, I will crave your leave, in all humbleneſſe and ſincerity to lay before your Majeſties eyes this one thing, (which perhaps might require a larger diſcourſe) that although no humane authority can diſpenſe with an Oath, *Quia Religio juramenti pertinet ad forum Divinum*; yet in ſome caſes it cannot be denied but the Obligation of an Oath ceaſeth: As when we ſwear homage and obedience to our Lord and Superiour, who afterwards ceaſeth to

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be our Lord and Superiour; for then the formall cause of the Oath is taken away, and therefore the Obligation, *Sublata causa tollitur effectus; sublato relato, tollitur Correlatum.* Or when any Oath hath a speciall reference to the benefit of those to whom I make the promise, if we have their desire or consent, the Obligation ceaseth; because all such Oathes from the nature of the thing, do include a condition. When the Parliaments of both Kingdoms have covenanted for the abolishing or altering of a Law, your Majesties Oath doth not binde you, or your Conscience to the observing of it; otherwise no Laws could be altered by the Legislative power. This I conceive hath been the ground of removing Episcopall Government in *Scotland*, and of removing the Bishops out of the Parliament of *England*. And I assure my self, that your Majesty did not intend at the taking of your Oath, that although both Houses of Parliament should finde an alteration necessary, although (which God Almighty avert) you should lose your selfe, and your Posterity and Crown, that you would never consent to the abolishing of such a Law. If your Majesty still object, *that the matter of the Oath is necessary and immutable*, that doth not belong to this, but to the former Argument.

8. I have but one word more concerning your pietie to your Royall Father, and teacher of happy memory, with which your Majesty does conclude. Your Majesty knows that King *James* never admitted Episcopacy upon Divine Right; That his Majesty did swear and subscribe to the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church of *Scotland*, that in the Preface of the latter Edition of *Basilicon Doron*, his Majesty gives an honourable testimony to those that loved better the simplicity of the Gospell, than the Pomp and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and that

that he conceived the Prelates to savour of the Popish Hierarchy, and that (could his Ghost now speak to your Majesty) He would not advise your Majesty to run such hazards for those men who will chuse rather to pull down your Throne with their own ruine, than that they perish alone. The Lord give your Majesty a wise and discerning Spirit to chuse that in time which is right.

June 3. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

A Reply to His Answer to My first Paper, *June* 6. 1646.

His Majesties second Paper.

Mr. *Henderson.*

IF it had been the Honour of the Cause which I looked after, I would not have undertaken to put Pen to paper, or singly to have maintained this Argument against you, (whose Answer to My former paper is sufficient, without further proofs, to justifie My opinion of your abilities) but, it being meerly (as you know) for My particular satisfaction, I assure you that a Disputation of well chosen Divines, would be most effectuall; and, I believe you cannot but grant, that I must best know, how My self may be best satisfied, for certainly My taste cannot be guided by another mans palate, & indeed I wil say, that when it comes (as it must) to Probations, I must have either *persons* or *books* to clear the Allegations, or it will be impossible to give Me satisfaction: The foreseeing of which, made Me at first (for the saving of Time) desire that some of those Divines, which I gave you in a List, might be sent for.

2. Con-

2 Concerning your second Section, I were much to blame, if I should not submit to that saying of Saint *Ambrose* which you mention, for I would be unwilling to be found lesse ingenuous than you shew your self to be in the former part of it; wherefore My Reply is, That as I shall not be ashamed *to change for the better*, so I must see that it is *better* before I *change*, otherwise, inconstancy in this were both sin and shame; & remember (what your self hath learnedly enforced) that *no mans reason can be commanded by another mans will.*

3. Your third begins, but I cannot say that it goes on with that Ingenuity, which the other did; for I do not understand, how those Examples cited out of the Old Testament do any way prove that the way of *Reformation*, which I commend, hath not been the most perfect, or, that any other is lawfull, those having been all by the Regal Authority; and because *Henry the eighths Reformation* was not perfect, will it prove that of King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth* to be unperfect? I believe a new *mood* and *figure* must be found out to form a *Syllogisme*, whereby to prove that: but however, you are mistaken; for, no man who truly understands the *English Reformation*, will derive it from *Henry the Eighth*, for he onely gave the occasion; it was his Son who began, and Queen *Eliz.* that perfected it; nor did I ever averre, that the beginning of any humane Action was perfect, no more than you can prove that *God hath ever given approbation to Multitudes to Reform the negligence of Princes*: for, you know, there is much difference between *Permission* and *Approbation*: But all this time I find no *Reasons* (according to your promise) for a *Reformation* or *Change* (I mean since Queen *Elizabeths* time.) As for your *Romanorum Malleus* his saying, it is well you come off it, with [*yet this I may*

say]

for it seems to imply, as if you neither ought would justifie that *bloody ungodly saying*: and for comparing our Reformation here to the *Laodicean Lukewarmnesse* proved by Complaints, Griefs, &c. all that doth, and but unhandsomely, *Petere Principium*; nor can Generalls satisfie Me; for, must first prove, that those men had reason to complain those Churches to be grieved, and, how we were truly the causers of this Schism and separation: for those words which you will not use, I will not answer.

4. Here indeed you truly repeat the first of My two main arguments; but by your favour, you take (as I conceive) a wrong way to convince Me; it is I must make good the *Affirmative*, for I believe a *Negative* cannot be proved: instead of which, if you had made appear the *practice* of the *Presbyterian Government* in the *Primitive times*, you had done much; for I dare averre that this Government was never practised before *Calvins time*; the *affirmative* of which, I leave you to prove; My task being to shew the *lawfulnesse* and *succession of Episcopacy*, and as I believe, the *necessity* of it: for doing whereof, I must have such Books as I shall call for; which possibly upon perusal, may, one way or another give Me satisfaction; but I cannot absolutely promise it without the assistance of some Learned man, whom I can trust, to find out all such Citations, as I have use of: wherefore blame Me not, if time be unnecessarily lost.

5. Now for the *fallaciousnesse* of My *Argument* (to My knowledge) it was never My *practice*, nor do I confesse to have begun now: For, if the *practice of the Primitive Church*, and the *universall consent of the Fathers*, be not a convincing Argument, when the *interpretation of Scripture is doubtfull*, I know nothing; for, if this be not; then of necessity the *interpretation*

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of private ſpirits muſt be admitted: the which contradicts St. *Peter*, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. is the *Mother* of all *Sects*, and will (if not prevented) bring theſe Kingdoms into confuſion: and to ſay, that an argument is ill, becauſe the *Papiſts* uſe it, or, that ſuch a thing is good, becauſe it is the cuſtome of ſome of the *Reformed Churches*, cannot weigh with Me, untill you prove theſe to be *infallible*, or to maintain *no Truth*: and how *Diotrephes* ambition (who directly oppoſed the Apoſtle S. *John*) can be an Argument againſt *Epiſcopacy*, I do not underſtand.

6. When I am made a Judge over the *Reformed Churches*, then, and not before, will I cenſure their *Actions*; as you muſt prove, before I confeſſe it, that *Presbyters without a Biſhop may lawfully ordaine other Presbyters*: and as for the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, as I think none will ſay, that a Woman can lawfully, or duly Adminiſter it, though when done it be *valid*; ſo none ought to do it, but a lawful *Presbyter*, whom you cannot deny, but to be abſolutely neceſſary for the *Sacrament* of the *Euchariſt*.

7. You make a learned ſuccinct diſcourſe of *Oathes* in generall, and their ſeverall obligations, to which I fully agree; intending, in the particular now in queſtion, to be guided by you own *Rule*, which is [*when an Oath hath a ſpeciall reference to the benefit of thoſe to whom I make the promiſe, if we have their deſire, or conſent, the Obligation ceaſeth.*] Now, it muſt be known, *to whom* this Oath hath reference, and to *whoſe benefit* the Anſwer is clear, only to the *Church of England*; as by the Record will be plainly made appear; and you muſt miſtake in alleging, that the two *Houſes of Parliament* (eſpecially as they are now conſtituted) can have this *Diſobligatory power*, for (beſides that they are not named in it) I am confident to make it clearly appear to you, that this Church never did

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ſubmit, nor was ſubordinate to them; and that it was only the *King* and *Clergy*, who made the *Reformation*, the *Parliament* meerly ſerving to help to give the *civil Sanction*: all this being proved (of which I make no queſtion) it muſt neceſſarily follow, that it is only the *Church* of *England* (in whoſe favour I took this Oath) that can releaſe me from it: wherefore when the *Church of England* (being lawfully aſſembled) ſhall declare that I am free, then, and not before, I ſhall eſteem My ſelf ſo.

8. To your laſt, concerning the King My Father, of happy and famous Memory, both for his *Pietie* and *Learning*; I muſt tell you, that I had the happineſs, to know him much better than you; wherefore I deſire you, not to be too confident in the knowledge of his Opinions; for, I dare ſay, ſhould his *Ghoſt now ſpeak*, he would tell you, *that a bloody Reformation was never lawfull, nor warranted by Gods word*, and that *Preces & lacrymæ ſunt Arma Eccleſiæ*.

9. To conclude, having replyed to all your Paper, I cannot but obſerve to you, that you have given Me no Anſwer to My laſt *Quære*; it may be you are (as *Chaucer* ſayes) like the people of *England*, *What they nor like they never underſtand*: But in earneſt, that *Queſtion* is ſo pertinent to the purpoſe in hand, that it will much ſerve for My ſatisfaction; and beſides it may be uſefull for other things.

Newcaſtle, Iune 6. 1646. *C. R.*

For His MAJESTY.

Mr. *Alex. Henderſons* ſecond Paper.

SIR,

THe ſmaller the encouragements be, in relation to the ſucceſſe, (which how ſmall they are, your Maje-

Majesty well knowes:) the more apparent, and, I hope the more acceptable will my obedience be, in that which in all humility I now go about, at your Majesties command: yet while I consider, that the way of man is not in himself, nor is it in man that walketh, to direct his owne steps; and when I remember how many supplications, with strong crying and tears, have been openly and in secret offered up in your Majesties behalfe, unto God that heareth prayer, I have no reason to despair of a blessed successe.

1. I have been averse, from a Disputation of Divines, 1. For saving of time; which the present exigence and extremity of affairs, make more than ordinarily precious; While *Archimides* at *Syracuse* was drawing his figures and circlings in the sand, *Marcellus* interrupted his Demonstration. 2. Because the common result of Disputes of this kinde, answerable to prejudicate opinions of the parties, is rather Victory than Verity; while *tanquam tentativi Dialectici*, they study more to overcome their adverse party, than to be overcome of Truth, although this be the most glorious Victory. 3. When I was commanded to come hither, no such thing was proposed to me, nor expected by Me. I never judged so meanly of the Cause, nor so highly of my self, as to venture it upon such weakenesse. Much more might be spoken to this purpose; but I forbear.

2. I will not further trouble your Majesty with that which is contained in the second Section; hoping that your Majesty will no more insist upon *Education, prescription of time, &c.* which are sufficient to prevent Admiration, but (which your Majesty acknowledges) must give place to Reason, and are no sure ground of resolution of our Faith, in any point to be believed: although it be true that the most part of

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men make theſe and the like, to be the ground and rule of their Faith: and Evidence that their Faith is not a Divine Faith, but an humane Credulity.

3. Concerning *Reformation of Religion* in the third Section; I had need have a preface to ſo Thorny a Theam, as your Majeſty hath brought me upon. 1. For the *Reforming power*; it is conceived, when a Generall Defection, like a Deluge, hath covered the whole face of the Church, ſo that ſcarcely the tops of the Mountains do appear, a generall Councell is neceſſary; but, becauſe that can hardly be obtained, ſeverall Kingdoms (which we ſee was done, at the time of the Reformation) are to reforme themſelves and that by the anthority of their Prince, and Magiſtrates: if the Prince or ſupreme Magiſtrate, be unwilling, then may the Inferiour Magiſtrate and the people, being before rightly informed in the grounds of Religion, lawfully Reform, within their own ſphere; and if the light ſhine upon all, or the Major part, they may, after all other means aſſayed, make a publick Reformation. This, before this time, I never wrote or ſpoke; yet the maintainers of this Doctrine, conceive that they are able to make it good. But, Sir, were I worthy to give advice to your Majeſty, or to the Kings, and ſupreme Powers on Earth, my humble Opinion would be, that they ſhould draw the mindes, tongues, and pens of the learned, to diſpute about other matters, than the power or Prerogative of Kings and Princes; and in this kind your Majeſty hath ſuffered and loſt more, than will eaſily be reſtored to your ſelf or your poſterity, for a long time. It is not denyed but the prime Reforming power, is in Kings and Princes: *Quibus--deficientibus*, it comes to the inferiour Magiſtrate, *Quibus Deficientibus*, it deſcendeth to the body of the people; ſuppoſing that there is a neceſſity of Reformation, and that by no

means it can be obtained of their Superiours. It is true that ſuch a Reformation, is more imperfect, in reſpect of the inſtruments, and manner of procedure; yet for the moſt part, more pure and perfect in relation to the effect and product. And for this end did I cite the examples of old Reformation by Regal Authority; of which none was perfect, in the ſecond way of perfection, except that of *Joſiah*. Concerning the ſaying of *Groſtead*, whom the *Cardinalls at Rome* confeſt to be a more Godly man, than any of themſelves, it was his complaint, and prediction of what was likely to enſue, not his deſire, or Election, if Reformation could have been obtained, in the ordinary way. I might bring two impartiall Witneſſes, *Iewel* and *Bilſon*, both famous Engliſh Biſhops, to prove that the Tumults and troubles raiſed in *Scotland*, at the time of Reformation, were to be imputed to the Papiſts oppoſing of the Reformation, both of Doctrin & Diſcipline, as an Hereticall innovation; and not to be aſcribed to the Nobility, or people, who under God, were the Inſttuments of it; intending and ſeeking nothing, but the purging out of Errour, and ſetling of the truth. 2. Concerning the Reformation of the Church of *England*, I conceive, whether it was begun or not, in King *Henry* the eighths time, it was not finiſhed by Queen *Elizabeth*: the Father ſtirred the humours of the diſeaſed Church; but neither the Son nor the Daughter (although we have great reaſon to bleſſe God for both) did purge them out perfectly: This perfection is reſerved for your Majeſty. Where it is ſaid, *that all this time I bring no Reaſons, for a further change*; the fourth Section, of my laſt paper, hath many hints of Reaſons againſt *Epiſcopall Government*, with an offer of more or clearing of thoſe; which your Majeſty hath not thought fit to take notice of. And learned men have obſerved many

ny defects in that Reformation: As that the Government of the Church of *England*, (for about this is the Question now) is not builded upon the foundation of *Christ* and the *Apostles*; which they, at least cannot deny, who professe *Church-Government* to be *mutable* and *ambulatory*; and such were the greater part of *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops* in *England*, contenting themselves with the *Constitutions* of the Church, and the *Authority* and *Munificence* of Princes, till of late, that some few have pleaded it to be *Iure Divino*: *That, the English Reformation hath not perfectly purged out the Roman Leaven*; which is one of the Reasons that have given ground to the comparing of this Church to the Church of *Laodicea*, as being neither hot nor cold, neither *Popish nor Reformed*, but of a Lukewarm temper, betwixt the two: *That it hath depraved the Discipline of the Church, by conforming of it to the Civil policy*: *That it hath added many Church Offices, higher an lower, unto those instituted by the Son of God*; which is as unlawfull as to take away Offices warranted by the Divine institution: And other the like, which have moved some to apply this saying to the Church of *England*, *multi ad perfectionem pervenerint*; *nisi jam se pervenisse crederent.*

4. In my Answer to the first of your Majesties many Arguments, I brought a Breviate of some Reasons to prove, *That a Bishop and Presbyter are one and the same in Scripture*: from which, by necessary consequence I did infer the Negative; Therefore, no difference in Scripture between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*; the one name signifying, *Industriam Curiæ pastoralis*; the other, *Sapientiæ Maturitatem*, saith *Beda*. And whereas your Majesty averres, *That the Presbyterian Government was never practised, Before* Calvins *time*; Your Majestie knowes,

the common Objection of the *Papiſts* againſt the *Reformed Churches*; Where was your Church, your Reformation, your Doctrine, before *Luthers* time? One part of the common Anſwer is, *That it was from the beginning, and is to be found in Scripture*: The ſame I affirm of Presbyterian Government: And for the proving of this, the *Aſſembly of Divines at Weſtminſter*, have made manifeſt, *that the Primitive Chriſtian Church at* Ieruſalem *was governed by a Preſbytery*: While they ſhew, Firſt, That, the Church of *Ieruſalem* conſiſted of more Congregations than one, from the multitude of Believers, from the many Apoſtles, and other Preachers in the Church, and from the Diverſity of Languages among the believers. 2. That all thoſe congregations, were under one Presbyteriall government, becauſe they were, for Government, one Church, *Acts* eleven, *verſe* twenty two, twenty ſix. And becauſe that Church was governed by Elders, *Acts* 11. 30. Which were Elders of that Church, and did meet together for Acts of Government; And the Apoſtles themſelves, in that meeting, *Acts* 15. acted not as Apoſtles, but as Elders: ſtating the Queſtion, debating it, in the ordinary way of diſputation; and having, by ſearch of Scripture, found the will of God, they concluded, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and us*: which in the judgment of the Learned, may be ſpoken by any aſſembly, upon like evidences of Scripture. The like Presbyterian Government had place in the Churches of *Corinth*, *Epheſus*, *Theſſalonica*, &c. in the times of the Apoſtles; and after them, for many years, when one of the Preſbytery was made *Epiſcopus praſes*, even then, *Communi Presbyterorum Conſilio gubernabantur*, ſaith Saint *Ierome & Epiſcopos magis conſuetudine, quam Diſpoſitionis Divinæ veritate. Presbyteris eſſe majores*, & in

Commune

Commune debere Eccleſiam regere.

5. Far be it from me to think ſuch a thought, as that your Majeſty did intend any fallacy, in your other main Argument, from Antiquity. As we are to diſtinguiſh between *Intentio operantis, & Conditio operis*, ſo may we in this caſe conſider the difference between *Intentio Argumentis, & Conditio Argumenti.* And where your Majeſty argues, That, if Your Opinion be not admitted, we will be forced to give place to the *Interpretations of private Spirits*, which is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apoſtle St. *Peter* and will prove to be of dangerous conſequence; I humbly offer to be conſidered by your Majeſty, what ſome of chief note among the Papiſts themſelves have taught us, That the *Interpretation* of *Scripture*, and the *Spirits* whence they proceed, may be called *private* in a threefold ſence. 1. *Ratione perſonæ*, if the Interpreter be of a private condition. *Ratione modi & Medii*, when perſons, although not private, uſe not the publick means which are neceſſary for finding out the Truth, but follow their own fancies. *Ratione finis*, when the interpretation is not propoſed as Authenticall to bind others, but is intended only for our own private ſatisfaction. The firſt is not to be deſpiſed; the ſecond is to be exploded, and is condemned by the Apoſtle *Peter*; the third ought not to be cenſured: But that Interpretation which is Authenticall, and of Supreme Authority, which even mans Conſcience is bound to yeeld unto, is of an higher nature. And although the Generall Councell ſhould reſolve it, and the conſent of the Fathers ſhould be had unto it, yet there muſt alwaies be place left to the judgment of diſcretion, as *Davenant*, late Biſhop of *Salisbury*, beſides divers others, hath learnedly made appear in his book, *De Iudice controverſiarum*; where alſo the power of Kings in matter of Religion,

is ſolidly and unpartially determined. Two words onely I adde; one is, that notwithſtanding all that is pretended from Antiquity, a Biſhop having ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, will never be found in *prime Antiquity*. The other is, That many of the Fathers did, unwittingly, bring forth that *Antichriſt*, which was conceived in the times of the Apoſtles, and therefore are incompetent Judges in the Queſtion of *Hierarchy*. And upon the other part, the Lights of the Chriſtian Church, at, and ſince the beginning of the Reformation, have diſcovered many ſecrets, concerning the *Antichriſt* and his *Hierarchy*, which were not known to former Ages: And diverſe of the Learned, in the Roman Church, have not feared to pronounce, That whoſoever denies the true and literal ſenſe of many Texts of Scripture, to have been found out in this laſt Age, is unthankfull to God, who hath ſo plentifully powred forth his Spirit upon the Children of this Generations, and ungrateful towards thoſe men, who with ſo great pains, ſo happy ſucceſſe, and ſo much benefit to Gods Church, have travelled therein: This might be inſtanced in many places of Scripture: I winde together *Diotrephes* and the *Myſtery of Iniquity*, the one as an old example of Church-ambition, which was alſo too palpable in the Apoſtles themſelves: And the other as a cover of Ambition, afterwards diſcovered; which two, brought forth the *great Myſtery* of the Papacy at laſt.

6. Although your Majeſty be not made a Judge of the Reformed Churches, yet you ſo far cenſure them, and their actions, as, without Biſhops, in your judgement they cannot have a lawfull Miniſtery, nor a due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments: Againſt which dangerous and deſtructive Opinion I did alledge what I purpoſed, your Majeſty would not have denied. 1. That Presbyters without a Biſhop, may Ordain

other Presbyters. 2. That Baptiſm, adminiſtred by ſuch a Presbyter, is another thing than Baptiſm adminiſtred by a private perſon, or a Midwife. Of the firſt, your Majeſty cals for proof: I told before that in Scripture, it is manifeſt, 1 Tim. 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by the prophesie, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*; ſo it is in the Engliſh Tranſlation: and the word *Preſbytery*, ſo often as it is uſed in the New Teſtament, alwayes ſignifies the *perſons*, and not the *Office*. And although the Offices of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* were diſtinct; yet doth not the *Presbyter* derive his power of Order, from the *Biſhop*. The Evangeliſts were inferiour to the Apoſtles; yet had they their power, not from the Apoſtles, but from CHRIST. The ſame I affirm of the 70 Diſciples, who had their power immediately from CHRIST, no leſſe than the Apoſtles had theirs. It may upon better reaſon be averred, That the Biſhops have their power from the Pope, than that Presbyters have their power from Prelates. It is true, *Ierome* ſaith, *Quid facit, excepta ordinatione Epiſcopus, quod non facit Presbyter*; but in the ſame place he proves from Scripture, that *Epiſcopus & Preſbyter* are one and the ſame; and therefore when he appropriates Ordination to the Biſhop, he ſpeaketh of the degenerated cuſtome of his time. 2. Concerning *Baptiſm*, a private perſon may perform the external Action and Rites, both of it, and of the Euchariſt; yet is neither of the two a Sacrament, or hath any efficacy, unleſſe it be done by him that is lawfully called thereunto, or by a perſon made publick and clothed with authority by Ordination. This Errour in the matter of Baptiſm, is begot by an other Errour, of the abſolute Neceſſity of Baptiſm.

7. To that which hath been ſaid, concerning your Majeſties Oath, I ſhall adde nothing; not being wil-

ling to enter upon the Queſtion, of the ſubordination of the Church to the Civil power, whether the King or Parliament, or both, and to either of them, in their own place. Such an headſhip as the kings of *England* hath claimed, and ſuch a Supremacy as the 2 Houſes of Parliament crave, with the appeals from the ſupreme Eccleſiaſticall Iudicature to them as ſet over the Church, in the ſame line of Subordination, I do utterly diſclaim, upon ſuch reaſons to give my ſelf ſatisfaction, although no man ſhall be mor willing to ſubmit to civill powers, each one in their own place, and more unwilling to make any trouble than my ſelf: only concerning the application of the Generalls of an Oath, to the particular caſe now in hand; under favour, I conceive not how the Clergy of the Church of *England*, is, or ought to be principally intended in your Oath; For, although they were eſteemed to be the Repreſentative Church, yet even that is for the benefit of the Church Collective; *Salus populi*, being *Suprema Lex*, and to be principally intended. Your Maieſty knowes it was ſo in the Church of *Scotland*, where the like alteration was made. And if nothing of this kind can be done without the conſent of the Clergy, what Reformation can be expected in *France*, or *Spaine*, or *Rome* it ſelfe? Its not to be expected, that the *Pope*, or *Prelat* will conſent to their own ruine.

8. I will not preſume upon any ſecret knowledge of the Opinions held by the King your Majeſties Father, of famous Memory; they being much better known to your Majeſty. I did onely produce, what was profeſt by him, before the World: And although *Prayers and Tears be the Armes of the Church*; yet, it is neither acceptable to God, nor conducible for Kings and Princes, to *force the Church to put on theſe Arms*: Nor could I ever hear a reaſon, why a neceſſary Defenſive War againſt unjuſt Violence is unlawfull,

ful, although it be joyned with offence and invaſion which is intended for Defence, but ſo that Arms are laid down when the offenſive war ceaſeth: by which it doth appear, that the War on the other ſide, was, in the nature thereof, Defenſive.

9. Concerning the forcing of Conſcience, which I pretermitted in my other Paper, I am forced now but without forcing of my Conſcience, to ſpeake of. Our Conſcience may be ſaid to be forced; either by our ſelves, or by others. By our ſelves: 1. When we ſtop the ear of our Conſcience and will not hearken, or give place to information, reſolving obſtinately, *Ne ſi perſuaſeris, perſuadebis*; which is no leſſe than the reſiſting the Holy Ghoſt, and the hardning of our hearts. 2. Or when they ſtop the mouth, and ſuppreſſe the clamours of our Conſcience; reſolving rather to ſuffer the worm to gnaw, and the fire to burn inwardly, than to make profeſſion of that we are convinced to be Truth. 3. Or when we ſear our Conſcience, as with an hot Iron, that it becommeth ſenſeleſs; which is the puniſhment of the former: unto which is oppoſed, the truly tender Conſcience; ſuch as *Joſiah* had, 2 *Kings* 22. 19 Again, 1. Our *Conſcience* is ſaid to be forced by others, when they obtrude upon us what is in it ſelfe evil and unlawful; which if it admit, againſt our own Conſcience, we ſin two wayes? one is, *by doing that which is in it ſelf evill and unlawfull*; the other is, *by doing it againſt a dictate of Conſcience*, which is a contempt of God, whoſe Vicegerent it is. 2. Or when others urge us to do that which is in it ſelf good, or may lawfully be done, but through errour of Conſcience we judge it to be evil & unlawful: in this caſe if we do not that which is preſt upon us, we ſin, becauſe the thing is good and lawful: And if we do it, we ſin, becauſe we do againſt our Conſcience. Which in this caſe bindeth; but obligeth not: and yet there is a way to eſcape out of this Labyrinth, it being repugnant

pugnant to the equity of the will of God to lay a *necessity* of sinning upon any man: The only way is, *to Lay aside a Conscience*, it beiing a part of the *Old Man*, which we are commanded to *put off*; otherwise, we being sufficiently informed, and yet cleaving to our old error, we rather do violence to our *conscience*, our *selves* than suffer violence from others. The application for Answering the *Quære*, I leave to your Majesty.

Newcastle, Iune 17. 1646.

For Master *Alexander Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES *third Paper.*

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1. IT were arrogance, besides losse of time, in Me to vie preambles with you: Fot, it is *Truth* I seek, and neither Praise nor Victhry, therefore I shall only insist upon those things which are meerly necessary to My own satisfaction; in order to which I desire the assistance of some Divines; whereupon I will insist no further, save only to wish, that you may not (as I have known many men do) lose time, by being mistaken in the way to save it, wherein I have only sought to disburden My self, but to lay no blame upon you, and so I leave it.

2. Nor will I say more of the second than this, that I am glad you have so well approved of what I have said concerning My Education and reason; but then remember, that *another mans will*, is at least, as weak a ground, to build My faith upon, as My former education.

3. In this their are two points; First, concerning the *Reforming power*, then anent the *English Reformation*: For the first, I confesse you now speak clearly, which

which before you did but darkly mention, wherein I ſhall mainly differ with you, untill you ſhall ſhew Me better reaſon: yet thus far I will go along with you, that when a Generall Councell cannot be had, ſeveral *Kingdoms* may *Reform* themſelves (which is learnedly and fully proved be the late *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* in his diſputation againſt *Fiſher*) but, that the *inferiour Mrgiſtrates or People* (take it which way you will) have this power, I utterly deny: For which, by your favour, you have made no ſufficient proof, to my judgment: Indeed, if you could have brought or can bring authority of Scripture, for this opinion, I would and will, yet, with all reverence ſubmit; but as for your Examples, *out of the Old Teſtament*, in My mind, they rather make for, than againſt Me, all thoſe *Reformations* being made by *Kings*; and it is a good *probable* (though I will not ſay *convincing*) *Argument*, that if God would have approved of a *popular reforming way*, there were Kings of *Iudah* and *Iſraell* ſufficiently negligent and ill to have made ſuch examples by; but by the contrary, the 16. Chapter of *Numbers* ſhews clearly, how God diſapproves of ſuch courſes: But I forget this aſſertion is to be proved by you; yet I may put you in the way, wherefore let Me tell you, that this pretended *power* in the *people* muſt (as all others) either be directly. or els declaratorily by approbation, given by God; which, how ſoon you can do, I ſubmit; otherwiſe you prove nothing: for the citing of private mens opinions) more than as they concurre with the Generall *conſent of the Church* in their time) weighs little with Me, it being too well known, that *Rebels never wanted writers to maintaine their unjuſt actions*; and though I much reverence Biſhop *Iewels* memory, I never thought him unfallible; for *Bilſon* I remember well what opinion the *King* my *Father* had of him for

thoſe

those Opinions, and how He shewed Him some favour in hope of his *Recantation*, (as His good nature made Him do many things of that Kinde) but whether he did, or not, I cannot say: To conclude this point untill you shall prove this *position* by the Word of *God*, (as I will *Regall Authority*) I shall think all *popular Reformation*, little better than *Rebellions*; for, I hold that *no authority is lawfull but that which is either directly given*, or at least, *approved by God*. Secondly, Concerning the *English Reformation*, the first reason you bring why Queen *Elizabeth* did not finish it, is, because *she took not away Episcopacy*, the *hints of reason against which Government*, you say, *I take no notice of*; now I thought it was sufficient notice, yea and answer too, when I told you, *a negative* (as I conceived) *could not be proved*, and that it was for Me to prove the *affirmative*; which I shall either do, or yeeld the Argument, as soon as I shall be assisted with *Books*, or such Men of My opinion, who, like you, have a Library in their brain: And so I must leave this particular untill I be furnished with means to put it to an *issue*; which had been sooner done, if I could have had my will: indeed your second well proved, is most sufficient, which is, That *the English Church-Government is not builded upon the foundation of Christ and the Apostles*; but I conceive your probation of this, doubly defective; for first, albeit our Archbishops and Bishops should have professed *Church-Government* to be *mutable and ambulatory*, I conceive it not sufficient to prove your Assertion: and secondly, I am confident you cannot prove, that most of them maintained this *walking* position, (for some particulars must not conclude the generall) for which you must finde much better Arguments, than their being content with the *Constitution of the Church* and the *Authority* and *munificence* of Princes, or you will

will fall extreamly short: As for the *retaining* of the *Roman Leaven*, you must prove it, as well as say it, else you say little: But that the conforming of the *Church discipline* to the *civil policy*, should be a depraving of it, I absolutely deny; for I averre, that without it, the Church can neither flourish, nor be happy: And for your last instance, you shall doe well to shew the prohibition of our Saviour against addition of more Officers in the Church than he named, and yet in one sense I do not conceive that the Church of *England* hath added any; for, an *Archbishop* is onely a distinction for *order* of *Government*, not a *new Officer*, and so of the rest: and of this kinde I believe there are divers now in *Scotland* which you will not condemn, as the *Moderators of Assemblies*, and others.

4. Where you finde a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, in Scripture to be one and the same (which I deny to be alwayes so) it is in the *Apostles time*: now I think to prove the *Order* of *Bishops* succeeded that of the Apostles, and that the name was chiefly altered in reverence to those who were immediately chosen by our *Saviour*, (albeit in their time, they caused diverse to be called so, as *Barnabas* and others) so that, I believe, this Argument makes little for you: As for your proof of the Antiquity of *Presbyterian Government*, it is wel that the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster* can do more than *Eusebius* could, and I shall believe, when I see it: For, your former paper affirms, that those times were very dark for matter of fact, and will be so still for Me, if there be no clearer Arguments to prove it, than those you mention: for because there were *divers Congregations* in *Ierusalem*; Ergo, *what*? are there not *divers Parishes in one Diocese*? (your two first I answer but as one Argument) and because the *Apostles met with those of the inferiour*

Order

Orders for Acts of Government; what then? even so in these times do the *Deans* and *Chapters*, and many times those of the *inferiour Clergy* assist the *Bishops*; but I hope you will not pretend to say, that there was an equality between the *Apostles* and other *Presbyters*, which not being, doth (in My judgement) quite invalidate these Arguments: And if you can say no more for the Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Thessalonica*, *&c.* than you have for *Ierusalem*, it will gain no ground on Me: As for Saint *Ierome*, it is well known that he was no great friend to *Bishops*, as being none himself, yet take him altogether, and you will finde that he makes a clear distinction between a *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, as your self confesses; but the truth is, he was angry with those who maintained *Deacons* to be equal to *Presbyters*.

5. I am well satisfied with the explanation of your meaning concerning the word *Fallacy*, though I think to have had reason for saying what I did: but by your favour, I do not conceive that you have answered the strength of my Argument, for when you and I differ upon the *interpretation of Scripture*, and I appeal to the *practise* of the *Primitive Church*, and the *universal consent of the Fathers*, to be judge beweene us, Me thinks you shald either finde a fitter, or submit to what I offer; neither of which (to My understanding) you have yet done; nor have you shown how, waving those Judges I appeal unto, the mischief, of the interpretation by *private spirits*, can be prevented. Indeed, if I cannot prove by *Antiquity*, that *Ordination* and *Iurisdiction* belongs to *Bishops*, (thereby clerrly distinguishing them from other *Presbyters*) I shall then begin to misdoubt many of My former *foundations*; (as for Bishop *Davenant*, he is none of those, to whom I have appealed, or will submit unto) but for the exception you take to *Fathers*, I take it

to

to be *a begging of the Question*; as likewise those great discoveries of secrets, not known to former Ages, I shall call *new-invented fancies*, until particularly you shall prove the contrary; and for your *Roman Authors*, it is no great wonder for them to seek shifts whereby to maintain *Novelties*, as wel as the *Puritans*. As for *Church-ambition*, it doth not at all terminate in seeking to be *Pope*; for I take it to be no point of humility to endeavour to be *independent of Kings*, it being possible, that *Papacy* in a *multitude* may be as dangerous as in *one*.

6. As I am no *Judge* over the *Reformed Churches*, so neither do I censure them, for many things may be avowable upon *necessity*, which otherwayes are *unlawfull*; but know, once for all, that I esteem nothing the better, because it is done by such a *particular Church* (though it were by the *Church of England*, which I avow most to reverence) but I esteem that *Church* most, which comes neareſt to the *purity of the primitive Doctrine and Discipline*, as I believe this doth. Now concerning Ordination, I bad you prove that Presbyters without a Bishop might lawfully Ordain which yet I conceive you have not done; for, 2 *Tim.* 1.6. it is evident, that Saint *Paul* was at *Timothies* Ordination; and albeit that all the *Seventy* had their power immediately from *Christ*, yet it is as evident that our Saviour made a clear distinction between the *twelve Apostles* and the rest of the *Disciples*, which is set down by three of the *Evangelists*, whereof S. *Mark* calls it an Ordination, *Mark* 3. 15. and S. *Luke* says, *And of them he chose twelve, &c. Luke* 6. 13. onely S. *Matthew* doth but barely enumerate them by their name of distinction, *Matth.* 10.1. I suppose out of modesty, himself being one, and the other two being none, are more prrticular. For the *administration of Baptisme*, giving, but not granting what you say, it

makes

makes more for Me, than you: but I wil not engage upon new Questions, not necessary for my purpose.

7. For my *Oath*, you do well not to enter upon those Questions you mention; and you have done as well to have omitted your instance: but; out of discretion I desire you to Collect your Answer out of the last Section; and for your Argument, though the intention of my Oath be for the good of the *Church Collective*, therefore can I be dispenced withall by others then the *representative body?* certainly no more then the people can dispence with Me for them *Oaths* I took in their favour, without the two Houses of Parliament; and as for future Reformations, I wilonly tell you that *Incommodum non solvit Argumentum.*

8. For the *King* My Fathers opinion, if it were not to spend time (as I believe) needlesly, I could prove by living and written testimony, all and more, than I have said, for his perswasions in these points which I now maintaine; and for your *Defensive War*; as I do acknowledge it is a great sinne, for a King to oppresse the Church, so I hold it absolutely unlawful for *Subjects* (upon any pretence whatsoever) to make War (though *defensive*) against their *lawful Soveraign*; against which no lesse proofs will make Me yeeld but *Gods Word*; and let Me tell you, that upon such points as these, Instances, as well as comparisons, are odious.

9. Lastly, you mistake the *Quare* in My first Paper to which this pretends to answer; for My Question was not concerning *force of Arguments* (for I never doubted the lawfulnesse of it) but *force of Arms*, to which, I conceive, it says little or nothing, unlesse (after My example) you referre me to the former Section; that which it doth, is meerly the *asking of the Question*, after a fine discourse of the severall ways of *perswading* rather than *forcing* of Conscience: I close up

this paper, deſiring you to take notice, that there none of theſe Sections but I could have enlarged to many more lines, ſome to whole pages; yet I choſe to be thus brief, knowing you will underſtand more by a word than others by long diſcourſe; truſting likewiſe to your ingenuity, that reaſon epitomized, will weigh as much with you as if it were at large.

June 22. 1646. *C. R.*

For His MAJESTY.

Concerning the Authority of the Fathers, and practice of the Church, *July* 2. 1646.

Mr. *Alex. Henderſons* third Paper.

HAving in my former papers preſſed the ſteps of your Majeſties Propoſitions, and finding by your Majeſties laſt Paper, controverſies to be multiplied, (I believe) beyond your Majeſties intentions in the beginning; As concerning the *Reforming power*; The *Reformation of the Church of England*, The *difference betwen a Biſhop and a Presbyter*; The *Warrants of Presbyterian government*; The *Authority of Interpreting Scripture*; The *taking and keeping of publick Oathes*; The *forcing of Conſcience*; and many other inferiour & ſubordinate queſtions, which are branches of thoſe Maine Controverſies: All which in a ſatisfactory manner to determine in few words, I leave to more preſuming Spirits, who either ſee no knots of difficulties or, can find a way rather to cut them aſunder, than to unloſe them: yet will I not uſe any Tergiverſation; nor doe I decline to offer my humble Opinion with the Reaſons thereof in the own time concerning each of them; which in obedience

to your Majesties command, I have begun to do already. Only Sir, by your Majesties favourable permission, for the greater expedition, and that the present velitations may be brought to some issue, I am bold to intreat that the Method may be a little altered, and I may have leave now to begin at a principle, and that which should have been, *inter præcognita*, I mean the Rule, by which we are to proceed, and to determine the present controversie of *Church policy*; without which we will be lead into a Labyrinth, and want a thred to wind us out again. In your Majesties first paper, the *universal custome of the Primitive Church*, is conceived to be the Rule. In the second paper, Section the 5. The *Practise of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers*, is made a convincing Argument, when the *Interpretation* of *Scripture* is doubtfull; in your third paper, *Sect. 5. The practice of the Primitive Church, and the universall consent of the Fathers*, is made Iudge; and I know, that nothing is more ordinary in this Question, than to allege *Antiquity, perpetuall Succession, universall consent of the fathers*, and the *universall practice of the Primitive Church*, according to the Rule of *Augustine, Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec a concilio institutum, sed semper retentum est, non, nisi Authoritate Apostolica, traditum rectissime creditur.* There is in this Argument at the first view, so much appearance of reason, that it may much work upon a modest mind: yet being well examined and rightly weighed it will be found to be of no great weight; for besides that the Minor wil never be made good in the behalf of a *Diocesan Bishop*, having sole power of Ordination and jurisdiction, there being a multitude of Fathers, who maintaine that *Bishop and Presbyter are of one and the same order*; I shall humbly offer some few Considerations about the Major, because it hath been an inlet to many

ry dangerous Errours, and hath proved a mighty hinderance and obstruction to Reformation of Religion.

1. First, I desire it may be considered, that whiles some make two rules for defining controversies, the Word of God and Antiquity, (which they will have to be received with equall veneration) or, as the Papists call them, *Canonicall Authority, and Catholicall tradition*; and others, make *Scripture* to be the only *Rule*, and *Antiquity* the authentick *Interpreter*, the latter of the two seems to me to be the greater errour: because the first setteth up a parallel, in the same degree with Scripture; but this would create a Superior, in a higher degree above Scripture: For the *Interpretation* of the Fathers shall be the *Rule* and accounted the very Cause and Reason for which we conceive and believe such a place of Scripture to have such a sence; and thus, Men shall have Dominion over our Faith, against 2. *Cor.* 1. 24. Our Faith shall stand in the wisdom of man, and not in the power of God, 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. and Scripture shall be of private interpretation; For the prophesie came not of old by the will of man, 2 *Pet.* 1. 20. 22. *Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, Homo jam Deo propitius esse debebit*, saith *Tertullian.*

2. That the Scripture cannot be authentically interpreted but by Scripture, is manifest from Scripture: The Levites gave the sense of the Law by no other means, but by Scripture it self, *Neh.* 8. 1. Our Saviour for example to us, gave the true sense of Scripture, against the depravations of Satan, by comparing Scrip. with Scripture, and not by alleaging any Testimonies out of the Rabbins, *Mat.* 4. and the Apostles, in their Epistles, used no other help but the diligent comparing of Propheticall writings; like as the Apostle Peter, will have us to compare the clearer light of the

Apostles, with the more obscure light of the Prophets, 2 *Pet.* 1. 19. And when we betake our selves to the Fathers, we have need to take heed, that, with the Papists, we accuse not the Scriptures of obscurity or imperfection.

3. The Fathers themselves (as they are cited by Protestant Writers) hold this Conclusion, that Scripture is not to be interpreted, but by Scripture it self. To this purpose amongst many other Testimonies, they bring the saying of *Tertullian*, *Surge veritas; ipsa Scripturas tuas intrpretare, quam consuetudo non novit, nam si noscet, non esset*: if it knew Scripture, it would be ashamed of it selfe, and cease to be any more.

4. That some errors have been received, and continued for a long time, in the Church: The Error of *Free-will* beginning at *Justin Martyr*, continued till the time of *Reformation*, although it was rejected by *Augustine*, as the *Divine right of Episcopacy*, was opposed by others The Error about the *Vision of God*, That the *Souls of the saints departed, see not the face of God, Till the Judgement of the great day*, was held by Universall consent: The same may be said of the Errour of the Millenaries; and, which more nearly toucheth upon the present Question, the Ancients erred grosly about the *Antichrist* and *Mystery of iniquity*, which did begin to work in the dayes of the Apostles. Many other instances might be brought to prove the *universal practice of the Church*, as were not warranted by the Apostles, as by the Rites of *Baptisme* and *Prayer*; and the forming up and drawing together of the Articles of that Creed, that is called *Symbolum Apostolicum*; the observation of many *Feasts* and *Fasts* both Anniversary and Weekly.

5. That it is not a matter so incredible, or impossible, as some would have it appear to be, for the primitive

native Church to have made a ſudden defection from the Apoſtolicall purity: the people of Iſrael in the ſhort time of *Moſes* his abſence on the Mount, turned aſide quickly, and fell into horrible Idolatry, *Exod* 32. ſoon after the death of *Ioſuah*, and the Elders that had ſeen the great works which the Lord had done for *Iſrael*, there aroſe another generation after them, which did evil in the ſight of the Lord, *Judg.* 2. & 7. ſoon after the building of the Temple, and ſerling of Religion by *David* and *Solomon*, the worſhip of God was defiled with Idolatry: when *Rehoboam* had eſtabliſhed the Kingdom he forſook the Law of the Lord, & all Iſrael with him, 2 *Chron.* 12. 2. And the Apoſtle ſays to the Gallatians, *Gallat.* 1. 6. *I marvel that you are ſo ſoon removed unto another Goſpel*: Why then ſhall we think it ſtrange, that in the manner of Diſcipline, there ſhould be a ſudden defection, eſpecially it being begun in the time of the Apoſtles? I know it is a common opinion, but I believe there be no ſtrong reaſons for it, that the Church which was neareſt the times of the Apoſtles was the moſt pure and perfect Church.

6. That it is impoſſible to come to the knowledge of the univerſall conſent and practice of the Primitive Church: for many of the fathers wrote nothing at all, many of their writings are periſhed, (it may be that both of theſe have diſſented from the reſt) many of the writings which we have under their names are Suppoſitions, and counterfeit, eſpecially about Epiſcopacy which was the foundation of Papall Primacy: The Rule of *Auguſtine* fore-mentioned doth too much favour Traditions, and is not to be admitted, without cautions and exceptions.

Many the like conſiderations may be added; but theſe may be ſufficient to prove that the unanimous conſent of the Fathers, and the univerſal practice of

the Primitive Church, is no sure ground of Authenticall interpretation of Scripture. I remember of a Grave Divine in *Scotland*, much honoured by King *James* of happy memory, who often did professe that he did learne more of one page of *Iohn Calvin*, than of a whole Treatise of *Augustine*: Nor can there be any good reason, (many there be against it) why the Ancients should be so farre preferred to the Modern Doctors of the Reformed Churches, and the one in a manner deified, and the other vilified: it is but a poore Reason that some give, *Fama maratrix senioris ævi*, and is abundantly answered by the Apologist for Divine Providence. If your Majesty be still unsatisfied concerning the Rule, I know not to what purpose I should proceed to trouble your Majesty any more.

Newcastle, Iuly 2. 1646.

For Mr. *Alex. Henderson.*

His MAJESTIES *fourth Paper.*
Iuly 3. 1646.

I Shall very willingly follow the *method* you have begun in your third Paper; but I do not conceive, that My last Paper multiplies more controversies than My first gave occasion for, having been so farre from Augmenting the heads of our disputation, that I have omitted the answering many things, in both your Papers, expressly to avoid raising of new and needlesse questions; desiring to have only so many debated, as are simply necessary to shew, whether or not, *I may with a safe conscience give way to the alteration of Church-Government in england*; and indeed I like very well

well, to begin with the *setling of the Rule* by which we are to proceed, and determine the present Controversy; to which purpose (as I conceive) My third Paper shews you an excellent way; for there I offer you a Iudge between us, or desire you to *find out a better*, which to My judgment you have not yet done, (though you have sought to invalidate Mine) for, if you understand to have offered the *Scripture*, though no man shall pay more reverence, nor submit more humbly to it than My self; yet you must find some rule to judge betwixt us, when you and I differ upon the *interpretation* of the self-same Text, or it can never determine our Questions; as for example, I say you misapply that of 2 *Cor.* 1. 14. to *Me*, (let others answer for themselves) for I know not how I make *other Men to have dominion over my Faith*, when I make them only serve to *approve My Reason*; nor do I conceive how, 1 *Cor.* 2. 5. can be applyed to this purpose; For there St. *Paul* only shews the difference between *Divine* and *Humane Eloquence*, making no mention, of any kind of interpretation throughout the whole Chapter, as indeed Saint *Peter* does, 2. *Pet.* 1. 20. which I conceive makes for *Me*; for, since that no *prophesie of Scripture is of any private interpretation*: First, I infer that Scripture is to be Interpreted; for els, the Apostle would have omitted the word *Private*: Secondly, that at least the consent of many learned Divines is necessary, and so *a fortiore*, that of the *Catholick Church* ought to be an *authentick Judge*, when Men differ: And it is a good Argument? because (*Mat.* 4. 4. 7. 10.) Scripture is best interpreted by it selfe, therefore that all other interpretations are unlawfully? certainful you cannot think: Thus having shewed you that we differ, about the meaning of the Scripture, and are like to doe so; certainely there ought to be for this, as well as other

things, a *Rule* or a *Judge* between us, to determine our differences, or, at least, to make our Probations and Arguments Relevant; therefore evading, for this time, to answer your six considerations (not I assure you for the difficulty of them, but the starting of new Questions) I desire you only to shew Me a better, than what I have offered to you.

Newcastle, July 3. 1646. *C. R.*

For Mr. Alexander Henderson.

A particular Answer to Mr *Alex. Hendersons*, July 3. 16. 1646.

His MAIESTIES *fifth Paper.*

VNtill you shall find out a fitter way to decide our *Difference* in Opinion concerning *Interpretation of Scripture* than the *consent of the Fathers, and the Vniversal practice of the Primitive Church*, I cannot but passe you My judgment anent those six *considerations*, which you offered to invalidate those Authorities, that I so much reverence.

1. In the first you mention *two rules for defining of controversies*, and seek a most old way to confute them, as I think; For you alleage, that *there is more attributed to them*, than I believe you can prove, by the consent of most learned Men (there being no Question, but there are alwayes some flattering Fools that can commend nothing but with hyperbolick expressions) and you know that *supposito quolibet, sequitur quidlibet*: besides do you think, that albeit some ignorant Fellowes, should attribute more power to Presbyters, than is really due unto them, that thereby their just reverence and authority is diminished?

So

so I see no reason why I may not safely maintain that the *Interpretations of Fathers*, is a most excellent strengthening to My opinion though others should attribute the Cause and Reason of their Faith unto it.

2. As there is no Question, but that *Scripture* is the far *best Interpreter* of it selfe, so I see nothing in this, negatively proved, to exclude any other, notwithstanding your positive affirmation.

3. Nor in the next, for I hope you will not be the first to condemn your self, Me and innumerable others, who yet unblamable have not tyed themselves to this Rule.

4. If in this you only intend to prove that Errors were alwayes *breeding in the Church* I shall not deny it, yet that makes little (as I conceive) to your purpose; but if your meaning be, to accuse the *universall practice of the Church* with *Error*, I must say it is a very bold undertaking; and (if you cannot justifie your self, by clear places in Scripture) much to be blamed, wherein you must not allege, that to be universally received, which was not as I dare say, that the *Controversy about free will*, was never yet decided, by *Oecumeniall*, or *Generall Councel*; nor must you presume to call that an Error, which really the Catholick Church maintained (as in rights of Baptisme forms of Prayer, observations Feasts, Fasts, &c.) except you can prove it so by the Word of God, and it is not enough to say, that such a thing was not warranted by the Apostles, but you must prove by their Doctrine, that such a thing was unlawfull, or else the practice of the Church is warrant enough for Me to follow and obey that Custome whatsoever it be, and think it good, and shall believe that the Apostles Creed was made by them, (such reverence I bear to the Churche-Tradition) untill other Authors be certainely found out.

5. I

I was taught that *de posse ad esse* was a good argument; and indeed to Me it is incredible, that any *custom of the Catholick Church* was erroneous, which was not contradicted by *Orthodox*, learned men, in the times of their first practice, as is easily perceived that those *Defections* were, (some of them may be justly called *Rebellions*) which you mention.

6. I deny it is *impossible* (though I confesse it *difficult*) to come to the knowledge of *the Universal consent*, and practice of the *Primitive Church*, therefore I confesse a man ought to be carefull how to believe things of this nature; wherefore I conceive this to be only an Argument for Caution.

My conclusion is, that albeit I never esteemed any *Authority* equall to the *Scriptures*;, yet I do think the unanimous consent of the *Fathers* and the *universal practice of the Primitive Church to be the best and Authenticall interpreters of Gods Word*, and consequently the fittest Iudges between Me and you, when we differ, untill you shall find Me better: For example, I think you for the present the best Preacher in *Newcastle*, yet I belleve you may erre, and possibly a better Preacher may come, but till then I must retain My Opinion.

Newcastle, July 16 1646. *C. R.*

The

The Papers which passed between his Majesty and the Ministers attending the Commissioners of Parliament at the Treaty at Newport *in the Isle of* Wight, Anno Dom. 1648. *concerning Episcopacy.*

His MAJESTIES *first Paper concerning Episcopacy.*

Charls R.

I Conceive that Episcopal Government is most consonant to the word of God, and of an Apostolicall institution, as it appears by the Scripture, to have been practised by the Apostles themselves, and by them committed, and derived, to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein (as for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, giving rules concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising censures over Presbyters and others) and hath ever since to these last times been exercised by Bishops in all the Churches of Christ, and therefore I cannot in conscience consent to abolish the said Government; notwithstanding this my perswasion I shall be glad to be informed, if our Saviour and the Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty as they might totally alter or change the Church-government at their pleasure: which if you can make appear to Me, then I will confesse that one of My great scruples is clean taken away: And then there only remains;

Acts 14. 23. *Acts* 6. 6. 2 *Cor.* 16. 1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor.* 5. 5. 3 *Joh.* 9. 10. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22 *Titus* 1. 5. *Rev.* 2. 3. 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. *Tit.* 3. 10.

That being by My Coronation Oath obliged to maintaine Episcopal government, as I found it setled

to

to My hands; whether I may consent to the abolishing thereof untill the same be evidenced to Me to be contrary to the word of God.

Newport, 2 *Octob.* 1648.

An humble Answer returned to your Majesties Paper, delivered to us, October 2. 1648.

May it please your Majesty,

WE do fully agree without hæsitation, That these Scriptures cited in the Margent of your Paper, *Acts* 14. 23. *Acts* 6. 6. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1. 1 *Cor.* 14. 1 *Cor.* 5. 3. 3 *John* 9. 10. do prove, That the Apostles did ordain Presbyters and Deacons, give Rules concerning Christian Discipline, and had Power of censures over Presbyters and others; and that these places of Scripture, 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. *Titus* 1. 5. 1 *Tim.* 5 19. *Titus* 3. 10. do prove that *Timothy* and *Titus* had power to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, and to exercise Censures over others; and that the second and third Chapters of the *Revelations* do prove, that the Angels of the Churches had power of governing of the Churches, and exercising Censures: But that either the Apostles, or *Timothy* and *Titus*, or the Angels of the Churches were Bishops, as Bishops are distinct from Presbyters, exercising Episcopall Government in that sense, or that the Apostles did commit and derive to any particular persons as their substitutes and Successors, any such Episcopal Government, or that this is proved in the least measure by the Scriptures alleged, we do as fully deny: And therefore do humbly deny also, That Episcopall Government is therefore most consonant to the Word of God, and of Apostles institution, or proved so to be by these Scriptures. None of these were Bishops, or practised

Episcopall

Episcopall Government; as Bishops are distinct from Presbytery; neither is such an Officer of the Church as a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter, to be found in the New Testament (by which we humbly conceive,) that our faith and conscience touching this point ought to be concluded: The Name, Office, and Work of Bishop and Presbyter being one and the same in all things, and never in the least distinguisht, and is clearly evident, *Titus* 1.5.7. *For this cause left I thee in Creet, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, & ordain Presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee, for a Bishop must be blameless.* In which place the Apostles reasoning were altogether invalid and inconsequent, if Presbyter and Bishop were not the same Office, as well as they have the same name.

The same is manifest, *Acts* 20. 17, 28. And from *Miletus* he sent to *Ephesus*, and called the Presbyters of the Church, to whom he gave this charge *verse* 28. *Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops, to feed and govern the Church of God.* Where we observe, That the Apostle being to leave these Presbyters, and never to see their faces more, *verse* 38. doth charge them with the feeding and governing of the Church, as being Bishops of the Holy Ghosts making: But that the Holy Ghost did make any superiour or higher kinde of Bishops than these common Presbyters, is not to be found in that, or any other Text.

And that under the mouth of 2 or 3 witnesses this assertion of ours may stand; we adde to what we have already said, That in the first of *Peter* 5. 1. 2. *The Presbyters which are among you, I exhort, who am, also a Presbyter, feed the flock of God which is among you performing the Office of Bishops.* Where it appeares plain to us, That under the words used in this place,

is

is expreſt whatſoever work the Presbyters do, more for the government & good of the Church, otherwiſe than is there expreſly enjoyned unto Presbyters. By all which that hath been ſaid, The point is rendred moſt clear to the judgment of moſt men, both ancient and of latter times, That there is no ſuch Officer to be found in the Scriptures of the new Teſtament, as a Biſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter: Neither doth the Scripture afford us the leaſt notice of any qualification required in a Biſhop, that is not required in a Presbyter; nor any Ordination in the Office of a Biſhop, diſtinct from a Presbyter; nor any work or duty charged upon a Biſhop, which Presbyters are not enjoyned to doe; nor any greater honour or dignity put upon them For that double honour which the Apoſtles ſpeake of, 2 *Tim.* 5. 17. *As due to Presbyters that rule well*, is with a note of eſpecially affixed to that Act or Work of labouring in the Word of Doctrine, which is not that act wherein Biſhops have challenged a ſingularity or peculiar eminency above the Presbyters.

To that which your Majeſty doth conceive, That Epiſcopall Government was practiſed by Apoſtles themſelves; We humbly anſwer, that the Apoſtles as they were the higheſt Officers of the Church of Chriſt, ſo they were Extraordinary in reſpect of their Commiſſion and gifts, and office, and diſtinguiſhed from all other Officers, 1 *Cor.* 12. 28 God hath ſet ſome in the Church, *First Apoſtles, Secondly Prophets, Thirdly Teachers*, Epheſians 4. 11. *Chriſt gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors, and ſome Teachers*; Whereby the Apoſtles are diſtinguiſht from Paſtors, and Teachers, who are the ordinary Officers of the Church for preaching the Word, and Government: that they had power and authority to ordain Church-Officers, and to exerciſe

censures in all Churches we affirm, and with-
that no other persons or Officers of the Church
challenge or assume to themselves such power in
respect alone, because the Apostles practised it,
cept such power belong unto them in common, as
ll as to the Apostles, by warrant of the Scripture,
that Government which they practised was Apo-
lical all according to that peculiar Commission and
thority which they had, and no otherwise to be
lled Episcopall, then, as their office was so com-
hensive as they had power to doe the work of any
all other Church Officers; In which respect they
ll themselves *Presbyteri*, *Diaconi*, (but never *Epis-*
pi in distinct sense) and therefore we humbly crave
ve to say, that to argue the Apostles to have
ctised Episcopall Government, because they or-
ined othet Officers, and exercised censures, is,
if we should argue a Iustice of peace to be a Consta-
le, because he doth that which a Constable doth
some particulars. Its manifest that the Office of
shops and Presbyters were not distinct in the Apo-
les, they did not act as Bishops in some acts, and
Presbyters in other acts; The distinction of Pres-
yters and Bishops being made by men in after
mes.

And whereas your Majesty doth conceive, That
e Episcopall Government, was by the Apostles
mmitted and delivered to particular persons,
their Substitutes or their Suceessors therein
as for ordaining Presbytersand Deacons, giving
les concerning Christian Discipline, and exercising
nsures over Presbyters and others) seeming by the
leged places of Scripture to instance in *Timothy*
d *Titus* and the Angels of the Churches, We humbly
swer,

1. And first to that of *Timothy* and *Titus*, we grant
That

That *Timothy* and *Titus* had authority and power of ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, and of exercising censures over Presbyters and others, though we cannot say they had this power, as the Apostles Substitutes or Successors in Episcopall Government, not that they exercised the power they had, as being Bishops in the sense of your Majesty, but as extraordinary Officers or Evangelists, which Evangelists were an Office in the Church, distinct from Pastors and Teachers *Ephesians* 4. 11. And that they were Evangelists, it appears by their being sent up and down by the Apostles, or taken along with them in company to severall Churches, as the necessity and occasion of the Church did require; the one of them being expressly called an Evangelist 2. *Tim.* 4. 5. And neither of them being any where in Scriptures called Bishop, neither were they fixed to *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as Bishops in the Churches committed to them, but removed from thence to other places, and never, for ought appears in Scriptures, returned to them again: And it seems clear to us, that neither their abode at *Ephesus* and *Creet* was for any long time, nor so intended by the Apostle, for he imploys them ther upon occasional businesse, and expresseth Himselfe in such manner, (*I besought thee to abide still at* Ephesus, *when I went into* Macedonia, *that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other Doctrine*, 1. *Tim.* 13. *For this cause left I thee in* Creet, *Titus* 1. 5. as doth carry the fixing or constituting of a Bishop in a place as a perpetual Governour: And it is as manifest, that they were both of them called away from these places, 2 *Tim.* 4. 9. *Do thy diligence to come to me shortly*, *Titus* 3. 12. *Be diligent to come to me to* Nicopolis; so that they may as well be called Bishops of other City, or Church where they had any considerable abode, as they are pretended to have been of *Ephesus* and *Creet*, as they are called by the

...ostlcripts of these Apostles, the credit of which ...cripts we cannot build upon in this point.

...Secondly, to that of the Angels of the Church-... the Ministers of the Churches are called Stars and ...gels, which denominations are Metaphoricall and ...ystery, *Rev.* 1. 20. The Mystery of the seven Stars; ...gels in respect of their mission or sending; Stars ...respect of their station and shining. And it seems ...nge to us, that so many expresse testimonies of ...ptures, and allegoricall denominations or myste... should be opposed; These Angels being no ...ere called Bishops in vulgar acceptation, nor ... word Bishop used in any of *Iohns* writings, who ...lls himself Presbyter, nor any mention of superiori... of one Presbyter to another, but in *Diotrephes* af...ting it. And as to that which may be said that E...tles are directed to one; We answer, that a num... of persons are in the mysterious and prophetick ...tings expresst in singulars. And wee humbly con...ve, that being written in an Epistolary stile (for ...y are as Letters or Epistles to the Churches) these ...tings are directed as Letters to collective or re...sentative bodies use to be, that is to one, but are ...tended and meant to the body in meeting assem...led: which that they were so intended, is clear to ..., both because there were in *Ephesus* Bishops, and ...sbyters one and the same, to whom the Apostle at ... farewell commended the Government of the ...hurch, and by divers expressions in these Epistles, ... *Rev.* 2. 24. *To you & to the rest in Thyatira*, by which ...inction of you and the rest, we conceive the ...hurch-governments (which were more than one) ...d the people to be signified, and so cannot consent ...t any singular person had majority over the rest, or ...e power of exercising Church censures and Govern...ent spoken of in these Chapters.

Having thus (as we humbly conceive) proved by pregnant places of Scripture compared together, that the Apostles themselves did not institute or practise Episcopall Government, nor commit and derive it to particular persons as their Substitutes or Successors therein. We shall in further discharge of our duty to, and for, the more clear and full satisfaction of your Majesty in this point, briefly declare into what Officers hands, the ordinary and standing Offices of the Church were transmitted and derived by, and from the Apostles. The Apostles had no Successors in *eundem gradum*: The Apostolicall office was not derived by succession, being instituted by Christ, by extraordinary and speciall commission; but for the ordinary and standing use and service of the Church, there were ordained onely two Orders of Offices, viz. Bishops and Deacons, which the Apostle expresseth, *Phil.* 1. 1. *To all the Saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons*: And onely of them doth the Apostle give the due characters of Officers: 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. 8. From both which places of Scripture we conclude with antient Expositors both Greek and Latine, that Bishops are the same with Presbyters, & besides Presbyters there is no mention of any other Order, but that of Deacons; of both which orders there were in the Apostles times, in one City more than one, as in *Philippi* and *Ephesus*. And we humbly offer to your Majesty as observable; That though one Order might be superiour to another Order, yet in the same Order of Officers, there was not any one superiour to others of the same Order; No Apostle was above an Apostle, no Evangelist above an Evangelist, no Presbyter above a Presbyter, no Deacon above a Deacon: And so we conclude this part, that since Church-Officers are instituted and set in the Church by God, or Jesus Christ: and that Ordination by or in which the office

is

veyed, it is of no other Officers but of Presbyters acons; therefore there are no other Orders of or- y and standing Officers in the Churches of Christ. for the ages immediately succeeding the Apostles, nswer, 1. Our Faith reacheth no further than the Scriptures; no humane testimony can beget any than a humane Faith.

We answer, that it is agreed upon by learned , as well such as contend for Episcopacy as rs, that the times immediately succeeding the stles, are very dark in respect of the Historie of Church

That the most unquestionable Record of those gives clear testimony to our assertion, *viz.* The tle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians* who reciting the r of Church Officers, expresly limits them to two, hops and Deacons; and they whom in one place he d Bishops, he alwayes afterwards nameth Pres- rs. The Epistles of *Ignatius* pretend indeed to the antiquity, but are by some suspected as wholly ious, and proved by *Videlius* to be so mixed, that hard if not impossible, to know what parts of are genuine. Besides B. *Vsher* in his last observati- on them, *c.* 18. *p.* 238. confesseth that of the 12 of his stles, six are counterfeit, the other six mixt, and e of them in every respect accounted sincere and mine.

We grant that not long after the Apostles times, hops in some superiority to Presbyters, are by the ers of those times reported to be in the Church; but were set up not as a divine Institution, but as an ehastiticall, (as afterwards both Arch-bishops Patriarches were,) which is clear by Doctor *olds* his Epistle to Sir *Francis Knowls*; wherein shewes out of Bishop *Iewel*, that *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Ierome*, *Augustine*, and many more ho-

ly Fathers, together with the Apoſtle *Paule*, a
that by the word of God there is no difference bet
a Presbyter and a Biſhop: and that *Medina* in
Councell of *Trent* affirms not only the ſame Fath
but alſo another *Ierome*, *Theodoret*, *Primaſius*,
dulius, and *Theophilact* to be of the ſame judgm
and that with them agreed *Oecumenius*, *Anſelm* A
biſhop of *Canterbury*, and another *Anſelm*, *Greg*
and *Gratian*, and after them many others; that it
enroll'd in the Canon Law for ſound and Catholi
Doctrine, and publickly taught by learned men, a
adds, that all who have laboured in the reformati
of the Church for theſe five hundred yeares, ha
taught that all Paſtors, be they inſtituted Biſhops
Prieſts, have equall Authority and power by Go
word. The ſame way goes *Lumbard* Maſter of the Se
tences, and Father of the Schoolmen, who ſpeaki
of Presbyters and Deacons, ſaith, the Primitive Chu
ches had thoſe Orders only, and that we have the Ap
ſtles precept for them alone; with him agree many
the moſt eminent of that kind, and generally all t
Canoniſts; to theſe we may adde *Sixtus Senen*
who teſtifies for himſelf and many others, and *Caſſa*
der who was called by one of the *German* Emperour
as one of ſingular ability and integrity, to inform hi
and reſolve his conſcience in queſtions of that nature
who ſayes it is agreed among all in the Apoſtles time
there was no diffierence betwixt a Biſhop and a Pre
byter.

For a concluſion we adde, that the doctrine whic
we have herein propounded to your Majeſty concer
ning the indentity of the order of Biſhops and Pre
byters, is no other than the doctrine publiſhed by
King *Henry* the eighth, 1543. for all his Subjects to
receive. ſeen and allowed by the Lords both Spirituall
and Temporall, with the nether Houſe of Parliament

these two Orders onely (so saith his Book,) that is
ay, Priests and Deacons, the Scripture maketh ex-
esse mention, and how they were conferr'd of by the
postles by prayer, and imposition of their hands: by
which it seems evident, that the order of Episcopa-
as distinct from Presbyters, is but an Ecclesiastical in-
tution, and therefore not unalterable.

Lastly, we answer, that that Episcopall Government
hich at first obtained in the Church did really and
stantially differ from Episcopal Government,
hich the Honourable Houses of Parliament desire
e abolition of. The Bishop of these times was one
siding in, and joyning with the Presbytery of his
hurch ruling with them, and not without them, ei-
er created and made by the Presbyters chusing out
e among themselves, as in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, or
osen by the Church, and confirmed by three or
ore of his Neighbours of like dignity within the
me precinct. Lesser Towns and Villages had and
ight have had Bishops in them as well as populous
d eminent Cities, untill the Councill of *Sardis* de-
eed, that Villages and small Cities should have no
shops, lest the name and authority of a Bishop
ight thereby come into contempt; but of one
aiming as his due and right to himself alone, as a
periour order or degree, all power about Ordination
Presbyters and Deacons, and all jurisdictions either
exercise himself, or delegate to whom he will of the
aity or Clergy, as they distinguish according to
e judgement and practise of these in our times we
ade not till the latter and corrupter ages of the
hurch.

By all which it appears that the present Hierarchy
(the abolition whereof is desired by the Ho-
nourable Houses) may be accordingly abolish-

ed;) and yet possibly the Bishops of the Primitive times might be, they are so far differing one from another.

In answer to that part of your Majesties Paper, wherein you enquire whether our Saviour and his Apostles did so leave the Church at liberty, as they might totally alter or change the Church Government at their pleasure, we humbly conceive that there are, substantials belonging to Church-Government, such are appointed by Christ and his Apostles, which are not in the Churches liberty to alter at pleasure: But as for Arch-Bishops, we hope it will appear unto your Majesties Conscience, that they are none of the Church governour appointed by our Saviour and his Apostles, we beseech your Majesty, rather to look to the original of them than succession.

His Majesties Answer to the Paper delivered to Him by the Ministers attending the Parliaments Commissioners.

Concerning Church-Government.

C. R.

HIs Majesty upon perusall of your Answer to His Paper of the second of *October* 1648. findeth that you acknowledge the severall Scriptures cited in the Margin, to prove the thing for which they are cited, *viz.* that the Apostles in their own persons, that *Timothy* and *Titus* by authority derived from them, and the Angels of the Churches had power of Church-Government, and did nor might actually exercise the same in all the three severall branches in His Paper specified; and so in effect you grant all that is desired. For the Bishops challenge no more or other power

to

long unto them in reſpect of their Epiſcopall of-
, as it is diſtinct from that of Presbyters, than
t properly falleth under one of theſe three: Ordai-
, giving Rules, and Cenſures.

But you preſently after deny the perſons that exer-
d the power aforeſaid to have been Biſhops, or had
rciſed epiſcopall Government in that ſenſe as Bi-
ps are diſtinct from Presbyters: wherein you do in
t deny the very ſame thing you had before gran-
: For Epiſcopall Government in that ſenſe being
thing elſe but the government of the Churches with-
a certaine precinct (commonly called a Dioceſſe)
mitted to one ſingle perſon, with ſufficient autho-
y over the Presbyters and the people of thoſe Chur-
s for that end, ſince the ſubſtance of the thing it ſelf
l the three forementioned particulars is found in the
criptures, unleſſe you will ſtrive about names and
ords (which tendeth not to profit, but to the puzzel-
ng and ſubverting of thoſe that ſeek after truth) you
ſt alſo acknowledge that Epiſcopall government in
e ſence aforeſaid may be ſufficiently proved from
Scripture.

In that which you ſay next, and for proof thereof
ſiſt upon three ſeverall texts, *Titus* 1. 5. 7. *Acts* 20.
17. 18. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1. 2. his Majeſty conceives (as to the
reſent buſineſſe) that the moſt that can be proved
om all or any of thoſe places, is this, that the word
ſhop is there uſed to ſignifie a Presbyter, and that
nſequently the Office and work mentioned in thoſe
ces as the office and work of a Biſhop, are the Of-
e and work of a Presbyter; which is confeſt on all
s, although his Majeſty is not ſure that the
oof will reach ſo farre in each of thoſe places.
t from thence to infer an abſolute Identity of
e functions of a Biſhop and a presbyter is a falla-
, which his Majeſty obſerves to run in a man-

ner quite along your whole answer: but it ap
from the Scriptures, by what you have grante
that single persons, (as *Timothy* and *Titus* for exa
ple) had authority to perform such acts and Offices
Church-government, as his Majesty hath not
found by any thing represented unto him by you
any other from the Scripture, that a single Presby
ever had authority to perform; which is enough
prove that there may be community of names in so
places, notwithstanding the Functions themselves ar
in other places by their proper work sufficiently di-
stinguished.

But for the name *Episcopus* or Bishop, his Majesty hath long since learned from those that are skilfull in the Greek tongue, that it imports properly no more than an Overseer, one that hath the charge or inspection of some thing committed unto him, as he that is set to watch a Beacon, or to keep Sheep; whence in the New Testament, and in the Ecclesiastical use, it is applyed to such persons as have the care and inspection of the Churches of Christ committed unto them in *Spiritualibus*; as both Bishops and Presbyters have in some sort, but with this difference, that meer Presbyters are *Episcopi gregis*, onely they have the oversight of the flock in the Duties of preaching, administration of Sacraments, publick prayer, Exhorting, Rebuking, &c. but Bishops are *Episcopi gregis & pastorum* within their severall precincts, in the acts of externall government; so that the common work of both Functions is the Ministery of the Gospell, but that which is peculiar to the Function of Bishops as distinquisht from Presbyters, is Church-government. It is not therefore to be wondred if it should happen in the New Testament, the word *Episcopus* to be usually applyed unto Presbyters who were indeed overseers of the flock, rather than unto

Church-

ch-governours, who had then a title of greater
nency whereby to diſtinguiſh them from ordina-
Presbyters, to wit, that of Apoſtles. But when the
overnment of Churches came into the hands of their
ceſſours, the names were by common uſage (which
the beſt maſter of words) very ſoon appropriated,
at of *Epiſcopus* to the Eccleſiaſticall Governour or
iſhop of a Dioceſſe, and that of Presbyter to the or-
inary Miniſter or Prieſt.

His Majeſty hath rather cauſe to wonder, That
pon ſuch premiſes you ſhould conclude with ſo
much confidence, as if the point were rendred moſt
lear to the judgment of moſt men both antient and
f latter times, That there is no ſuch Officer to be
ound in the Scriptures of the New Teſtament as a
iſhop diſtinct from a Presbyter, when as his Maje-
ty remembreth to have ſeen cited, by ſuch Authors
s he hath no reaſon to ſuſpect, both out of the an-
ient Fathers and Councels, and out of ſundry mo-
dern Writers, even of theſe reformed Churches, that
want Biſhops, great variety of Teſtimonies to the
contrary.

His Majeſty is not ſatisfied with your Anſwer, con-
cerning the Apoſtles exerciſe of Epiſcopall govern-
ment, which you would put off, by referring it to
their extraordinary calling: our Saviour himſelf was
the firſt and chief Apoſtle, and Biſhop of our Souls,
ſent by the Father, and anointed by the holy Ghoſt,
to be both the Teacher and the Governour of his
Church. By that Miſſion he received authority, and
by Vnction abilities for theſe works which he perfor-
med in his own perſon, whileſt he lived upon the
earth: Before he left the World, that the Church
might not want Teaching and Governing to the
Worlds end, he choſe certain perſons upon whom he
conferr'd both theſe powers, whereby they became
alſo

also Apostles and Bishops, by making them partakers both of his Mission before his Assention (*As My Father sent Me so send I you*) and of his unction shortly after his assention, when he powred upon them the Holy Ghost at Penticost. The Mission both for teaching and governing (at least for the substance of it) was ordained and to continue to the end of the world (*Mat.* 28.18. 20. and therefore necessarily to descend and be by them transmitted to others, as their Substitutes or successours. But the unction whereby they were enabled to both Offices or Functions, by the effusion of the Holy Ghost in such a plenteous measure of Knowledge, Tongues, Miracles, Propheſyings, Healing, Infalibility of Doctrine, discerning of Spirits, and such like, was indeed extraordinary in them, and in some few others though in an inferiour measure, as God saw it needfull for the planting of the Churches, and the propogation of the Gospell in those Primitive times; and in this which was indeed extraordinary in them) they were not necessarily to have successiours. But it seems very unreasonable to attribute the exercise of that power, whether of Teaching or Governing to an extraordinary calling which being of necessary and continuall use in the Church, must therefore of necessity be the worke of a Function of ordinary and perpetuall use; therefore the acts of governing of the Church, were no more nor otherwise in the Apostles, than the acts of Teaching the Church were; that is to say, both extraordinary for the manner of performance, in respect of their more than ordinary abilities for the same, and yet both ordinary for the substance of the offices themselves, and the works to be performed therein; and in these two ordinary offices, their ordinary Successors are Presbyters and Bishops; Presbyters *qua* Presbyters immediately

ding them in the Office of teaching; and Bi-s *qua* Bishops immediately in the office of Gover-g.

The instances of *Timothy* and *Titus*, you like-e endeavoured to avoid by the pretention of an ex-ordinary calling. But in this answer the insuffici-cy thereof is such (if all that is said therein could proved) that his Majesty findeth very little satisfa-tion.

1. First you say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were (by Office) Evangelists, whereas of *Titus*, the Scripture no where implyes any such thing at all, and by your owne Rule, Authority without Scrip-ture will beget (if that) but a Humane Faith, neither doth the Text clearly prove that *Timothy* was so.

2. Setting aside mens conjectures (which can breed but an humane faith neither) you cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture, that the Office of an Evangelist, is such as you have described it; the work of an Evangelist, which Saint *Paul* exhorteth *Timothy* to do seems by the context (2 *Tim.* 2. 4. 5.) to be nothing but diligence in preaching the Word, notwithstanding all Impediments and Opposition.

3. That which you so confidently affirm, That *Timothy* and *Titus* acted as Evangelists, is not only denyed, but clearly refuted by *Sculletus*, *Gerrard*, and others; yea even with scorne rejected of late, (as his Majesty is informed) by some rigid Presbyteri-ans, as *Gillespee*, *Rutherford*, &c. And that which you so confidently deny, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops, is not only confirmed by the consentient te-stimony of all Antiquity (even *Ierome* himself having recorded it, that they were Bishops and that of St. *Pauls* Ordination) & acknowledged by very many late Divines;

Divines: but a Catalogue also of 27. Bishops of *Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good Records, is vouched by *Reynolds* against *Hart*, and by other Writers.

4. You affirme, but upon very weak proofs, That they were from *Ephesus* and *Creet* removed to other places. Some that have exactly out of Scripture compared the times and orders of the severall journeys and stations of Saint *Paul* and *Timothy* have demonstrated the contrary concerning that particular.

5. Whereas you say it is manifest from the 2 *Tim.* 4 5. and *Tit.* 3. 12. That they were called away from these places; it doth no more conclude, that they were not Bishops there, or that they might as well be called Bishops of other Churches, than it may be concluded from the attendance of the Divines of the Assembly at *Westminster*, that they are not Parsons or Vicars of their several parishes.

Lastly, for the postscripts of these Epistles, though his Majesty lay no great weight upon them, yet he holdeth them to be of great antiquity, and therefore such as in question of fact, where there appears no strong evidence to weaken their belief, ought not to be lightly rejected.

Neither doth this lay any weight at all upon the Allegory or mystery of the denomination in the next point concerning the Angels of the Church, as you mistake in your answer thereunto; wherein his Majesty findes as little satisfaction as in the last point before. The strength of his Majesties instance lay in this, that by the judgement of all the antient and the best modern Writers, and by many probabilities in the Text it self, the Angels of the seven Churches were *personæ singulares*, and such as had a Prelacy as well over Pastors as people within their Churches, and

that is in a word Biſhops. And you bring nothing of moment in your anſwer to infirm this: you ſay truly indeed, That thoſe Epiſtles were written in Epiſtolary ſtile, and ſo (as Letters to collective or repreſentative bodies uſe to be) directed to one, but intended to the body. Which when you have proved, you are ſo far from weakning that you rather ſtrengthen the argument to prove the Angels to have been ſingle perſons: As when his Majeſty ſendeth a Meſſage to his two Houſes, and directs it to the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, his intending it to the whole Houſe, doth not hinder, but that the Speaker to whom it is directed is one ſingle perſon ſtill. Yet his Majeſty cannot but obſerve in this (as in ſome parts of your anſwer) how willing you are *verſari in generalibus*, and how unwilling to ſpeak out, and to declare plainly and directly what your opinion is concerning thoſe Angels, who they were, whether they were the great Antithriſt of Epiſcopacy; *Salmatius* very peremptorily (*ſit ergo hoc fixum, &c.*) affirmeth, the whole Churches; or ſo many individual Paſtors of the greater Church in theſe Cities, or the whole College of Presbyters in the reſpective Churches, or the ſingular and individual Preſidents of theſe Colleges. For into ſo many ſeverall opinions are theſe few divided among themſelves, who have divided themſelves from the common and received judgement of the Chriſtian Church.

In the following Diſcourſe you deny that the Apoſtles were to have any ſucceſſors in their Office, and affirm that they were to be onely two Orders of ordinary and ſtanding Officers in the Church, *viz. Presbyters* and *Deacons*.

What his Majeſty conceiveth concerning the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles is in part already declared, *viz.* That they have no Succeſſors in *eundem gradum*, in reſpect

pect of these things that were extraordinary in them, as namely the measure of their guifts, the extent of their charge, the infallibility of their doctrine, and (which is sundry times mentioned as a speciall character of an Apostle properly so called) they having seen Christ in the flesh. But in these things that were not extraordinary (and such those things are to be judged which are necessary for the service of the Church in all times, as the office of teaching and the power of Governing are) they were to have and hold Successors, and therefore the learned and godly Fathers and Councels of old times did usually stile Bishops the Successors of the Apostles, without any scrupling thereat.

And as to the standing Officers of the Church, although in the place by you cited, *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. there be no mention of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters, but of the two Orders only of Bishops or Presbyters and Deacons, yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church beside, for there appears to other Manifest Reasons, why that of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places; the one, because in the Churches which the Apostles themselves planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the Office of teaching, and took upon themselves the care, and reserved in their own hands the power of governing of these Churches; for a longer or shorter time, as they saw it expedient for the propagating of the Gospell, before they set Bishops over them; and so it may be probable that there was as yet no Bishop set over the Church of *Philippi*, when Saint *Paul* writ his Epistle to them. The other, because in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the persons to whom they wrote being themselves Bishops, there was no need to write any thing concerning the

choice

ce or qualification of any other ſort of Officers, ſuch as belonged to their ordination or inſpecti- which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no ſhops.

Concerning the Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtles.

First his Majeſty beleeveth, that although faith as is an aſſent unto truth ſupernaturall, or of divine revelation, reacheth no farther than the Scriptures, yet in matters of fact humane teſtimonies may beget a faith, though humane, yet certaine and infallible, as by credit of Hiſtories we have an infallible faith that *Ariſtotle* was a Greek Philoſopher, and *Cicero* a Roman Orator.

2. The Darkneſſe of theſe times in reſpect of the Hiſtory of the Church is a very ſtrong Argument for Epiſcopacy; for that notwithſtanding the darkneſſe of the times there is found to be ſo full and clear a proof, by the unqueſtioned Catalogues extant in ancient Writers of the Biſhops of ſundry famous Cities, as *Ieruſalem*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Rome*, *Epheſus*, *&c.* in a continued ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles, as ſcarce any other matter of fact hath found the like.

3. In *Clements* teſtimony cited by you, his Majeſty conceiveth you make uſe of your old fallacy, from the promiſcuous uſe of the words to infer the indiſtinction of the things; for who can doubt of *Clements* opinion concerning the diſtinct Offices of Biſhops and Presbyters, who either readeth his whole Epiſtle, or conſidereth that he himſelfe was a Biſhop in that ſence, even by the confeſſion of *Videlius* himſelf, a man never yet ſuſpected to favour Biſhops, who ſaith, after the death of *Linus* and *Cletus*, *Clemens ſolus Epiſcopi nomen retinuit, quia jam invaluerat diſtinctio Epiſcopi*

&

& *Presbyteri*; and for *Ignatius* his Epistles, tho
some of late out of their partial disaffection to Bisho
have endeavoured to discredit the whole Volume
them by all possible means, without any regard either
of ingenuity or Truth, yet sundry of them are such
as being attested by the suffrages of antiquity, cann
with any fore-head be denyed to be his; and ther
is scarce any of them which doth not give testimon
to the Prelacy of a Bishop above a Presbyter: *Ignatius*
himself was a Bishop of *Antioch*, and a holy Martyr for
the faith of Christ.

4. You grant that not long after the Apostles times
Bishops are found in the writers of those times, repor-
ted, as in some superiority to Presbyters: but
you might have added further out of these writers
(if you had pleased) that they were some of them,
as *Iames* at *Ierusalem*, *Timothy* at *Ephesus*; *Titus* in
Creet, *Mark* at *Alexandria*, *Linus* and *Clement* at
Rome, *Polycarpus* at *Smyrna*, constituted and ordai-
ned Bishops of these places by the Apostles themselves,
and all of them reputed Successors to the Apostles in
their Episcopall Office: and his Majesty presumeth
you could not be ignorant, that all or most of the te-
stimonies you recite of the antient Fathers, Writers of
middle ages, Schoolmen, and Canonists, and the
Book published under King *Henry* the eighth, do but
either import the promiscuous and indifferent use of
the names of Bishops and Presbyters, where of ad-
vantage ought not to be made to take away the diffe-
rence of the things, or else they relate to a Schoole
point (which in respect of the thing it self, is but a
very nicety) disputed *pro* and *con* by curious questio-
nists, *Vtrum Episcopatus si ordo vel gradus*, both sides
in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church-
government to be in the Bishops alone, and not in the
Presbyters; as also that there may be produced ei-
ther

...om the very ſame Writers, or from others of as ... Authority or credit, teſtimonies both for num- ...nd clearneſſe farre beyond thoſe by you mentio- ... to aſſert the three different degrees or orders ...ll them whether you will) of Eccleſiaſticall Fun- ...ns, (*viz.*) the Biſhop, the Presbyter, and the ...con.

...s to that which you adde laſtly, concerning the ...rence between primitive Epiſcopacy, and the pre- ... Hierarchy, albeit his Majeſty doth conceive, ...t the acceſſions, or additions granted by the fa- ...r of his Royall progenitors, for the enlarging of ... power or privileges of Biſhops, have not made, ... indeed can make the Government really and ſub- ...tially to differ from what formerly it was, no ...re than the Addition of Arms or Ornaments ... make a body really and ſubſtantially to dif- ... from it ſelfe naked, or deveſted of the ſame; ... can think it either neceſſary or yet expedient, ...t the Elections of the Biſhops, and ſome o- ... circumſtantialls touching their perſons or Of- ...ſhould be in all reſpects the ſame under Chriſtian ...ces, as it was when Chriſtians lived among Pa- ..., and under perſecution; yet his Majeſty ſo far ...roveth of your Anſwer in that behalfe, that he ...keth it well worthy the ſtudies and endeavours ...Divines of both Opinions, laying aſide emulation ...private intereſts, to reduce Epiſcopacy and Preſ- ...ry into ſuch a well-proportioned forme of ſupe- ...ority and ſubordination, as may beſt reſemble the ...oſtolicall and primitive times, ſo far forth as the dif- ...ent condition of the times, and the exigents of all ...ſiderable circumſtances will admit, ſo as the power ...Church Government in the particular Ordination ...ich is meerly ſpirituall, may remaine *Authoritative* ... the Biſhop, but that power not to be exerci-

sed without the concurrence or assistance of his Presbytery, as *Timothy* was ordained by the Authority of St. *Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. but with the concurrence or assistance of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. Other powers of Government which belong to jurisdiction (though they are in the Bishops as before is expresst) yet the outward exercise of them may be ordered and disposed or limited by the Soveraign power, to which by the Lawes of the place, and the acknowledgment of the Clergy they are subordinate; but his Majesty doubteth whether it be in your power to give him any perfect assurance, that in the desired abolition of the present Hierarchy, the utter abolishing of Episcopacy, and consequently of Presbytery is neither included nor intended.

As to the last part of his Majesties paper; his Majesty would have been better satisfied if you had been more Particular in your Answer thereunto; you tell him in generall, that there are substantialls in Church Government appointed by Christ, &c. but you neither say what these substantialls are, nor in whose hands they are left; whereas his Majesty expected that you would have declared your opinions clearly whether Christ or his Apostles left any certaine form of Government to be observed in all Christian Churches; then whether the same binds all Churches to the particular observation thereof; or whether they may upon occasion alter the same, either in whole or in part. Likewise whether that certaine form of Government which Christ and his Apostles have appointed as perpetuall and unalterable (if they have appointed any such at all) be the Episcopall, or the Presbyterian Government, or some other differing from them both.

3 Quare's

And whereas in the conclusion you beseech his Majesty, to look rather to the originall of Bishops, than

succeſſion, his Majeſty thinks it needfull to look both, eſpecially ſince their Succeſſion is the beſt, the moſt certaine and ready way to find out their fall.

His Majeſty having returned you this anſwer, doth profeſſe, that whatever is of weight in yours, ſhall have influence in him, ſo he doubts not but ſomething may appeare to you in His which was not ſo clear to you before; and if this debate may have this end, that it diſpoſe others to the temper of accepting reaſon, as it ſhall him indeavouring to give ſatisfaction in all he can to the two Houſes, his Majeſty believes, though it hath taken up, it hath not miſ-ſpent His time.

Newport, Octob. 6.

The Anſwer of the Miniſters attending the Commiſſioners of Parliament, to the ſecond Paper delivered to them by his Majeſty, October 6. 1648.

Delivered to his Majeſty October 17.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

AS to our Paper of *October* the third, in anſwer to your Majeſties of *October* the ſecond, we did, now againe we do acknowledge, that the Scriptures cited in the Margin of your Majeſties Paper do prove, that the Apoſtles in their own perſons, That *Timothy* and *Titus*, and the Angels of the Churches, had powers reſpectively to do thoſe things, which are in thoſe places of Scripture ſpecified: But as then, ſo now alſo humbly do deny, that any of the perſons or officers fore-mentioned were Biſhops, as diſtinct from Presbyters, or did exerciſe Epiſcopall Government in that ſence: Or that this was in the leaſt meaſure proved by the alleged Scriptures, and therefore

fore our *Negative* not being to the same point, or state of the Question which was *affirmed*, we humbly conceive that we should not be interpreted, to have in effect denyed the very same thing, which we had before granted; or to have acknowledged that the severall Scriptures do prove the thing for which they are cited by your Majesty: And if that which we granted were all, that, by the Scriptures cited in your Margin, your Majesty intended to prove; it will follow, That nothing hath yet been proved on your Majesties part, to make up that Conclusion which is pretended.

As then we stood upon the Negative to that assertion, so we now crave leave to represent to your Majesty, that your reply doth not infirm the evidence given in maintenance thereof. The Reason given by your Majesty in this paper to support your assertion, That the persons that exercised the power aforesaid were Bishops in distinct sense, is taken from a description of Episcopall Government; 'Which is (as 'your Majesty saith) nothing else, but the Govern-'ment of the Churches within a certain precinct (com-'monly called a Dioceſſe) committed to one single 'person, with sufficient authority over the Presbyters, 'and people of those Churches for that end; which 'Government so prescribed, being for substance of 'the thing it selfe in all the three forementioned par-'ticulars, (Ordaining, giving rules of Discipline, and 'Censures) found in Scriptures, except we will con-'tend about names and words, must be acknowledged 'in the sense aforesaid to be sufficiently proved from 'Scriptures: and your Majesty saith further, that the 'Bishops do challenge more or other power to be-'long to them, in respect of their Episcopall office, as 'it is distinct from that of presbyters, than what pro-'perly falls under one of those three.

We

Wee desire to speake both to the Bishops of *Chal-*
lenge, and to your Majesties Description of *Epis-*
copall Government. And first to their Challenge; be-
cause it is first exprest in your MAJESTIES
Reply.

The Challenge we undertake in two Respects:
First, In respect of the *power* challenged: Second-
ly, In respect of that ground, or *Tenure* upon
which the claim is laid. The power Challenged
consists of three particulars; *Ordaining*, *giving*
Rules of Discipline, and *Censures*. No more, no other,
in respect of their Episcopall Office. We see not, by
what warrant this Writ of partition is taken forth, by
which the Apostolicall office is thus shared or divided;
the *Governing* part into the Bishops hands; the *teaching*
and *administring* Sacraments, into the Presbyters. For
besides that the Scripture makes no such incloſure, or
partition wall, it appears the challenge is growne to
more than was pretended unto in the times of grown
Episcopacy. *Ierome* and *Chryſoſtome* do both acknow-
ledge for their time, that the Bishop and Presbyter
differed only in the matter of Ordination: and lear-
ned Doctor *Billſon* makes some abatement in the claim
of *three*, saying, the things proper to Bishops,
which might not be common to Presbyters, are sin-
gularly of Succeeding, and Superiority in ordain-
ing.

The *tenure* or ground upon which the claim is made
is Apostolicall, which with us is all one with *Divine*
Institution. And this, as far as we have learned, hath
not been *anciently*, *openly*, or *generally* avowed in this
Church of *England*, either in time of Popery, or of
the first Reformation; and whensoever the preten-
sion hath been made, it was not without the contradi-
ction of learned, and godly men. The abettors of
the Challenge, that they might resolve it at last into

the Scripture, did chuse the most plausible way of ascending by the way of *Succession*; going up the River to find the Head: but when they came to Scriptures, and found it like the head of *Nile* (which cannot be found) they shrowded it under the name and countenance of the *Angels of the Churches*, and of *Timothy* and *Titus*. Those that would carry it higher endeavoured to imp it into the *Apostolicall office*, and so at last called it a *Divine institution*, not in force of any *expresse precept*, but *implicite practise* of the Apostles: and so the *Apostolicall Office* (excepting the gifts, or enablements confest only extraordinary) is brought down to the *Episcopall*, and the *Episcopall* raised up to be *Apostolicall*. Whereupon it follows, that the highest Officers in the Church are put into a lower orb; an *extraordinary* office turned into an *ordinary distinct* office, confounded with that which in the Scripture is *not found*; a *temporary* and an *extinct* office revived. And indeed, if the definitions of both be rightly made, they are so *Incompatible* to the same subject, that he that will take both must lose the one: *aut Apostolatum Episcopatum, aut Apostolatum Episcopus*. For the Apostles, though they did not in many things *ut aliud*, yet they acted *alio nomine & alio munere* than Presbyters or Bishops can do; and if they were indeed Bishops and their Government properly Episcopall in distinct sense, then it is not needful to goe so far about to prove Episcopall Government of divine institution, because they practised it: but to assert expresly that Christ instituted it immediately in them.

For your Majesties *definition* of Episcopall government, it is extracted out of the Bishops of later date than Scripture times, and doth not suite with that Meridian, under which there were more Bishops than one in a precinct, or Church; and it is as fully competent to Archiepiscopall, and Patriarchall govern-

ment

, as Episcopal. The parts of this definition. *mate-* and *abstractly* considered, may be found in ipture. The Apostles *Timothy* and *Titus*, were sin- persons, but not limited to a Precinct: the Govern- nt of the Angells were limited to a Precinct, but in single persons. In severall offices not to be con- nded, the parts of this definition may be found; the aggregation of them altogether into one ordi- ry Officer cannot be found. And if that word, *ordi- ry and standing Government*, had been made the *nus* in your Majesties definition (as it ought to be) should crave leave to say it would be *gratis dictum*, not *petitio principii*: for the Scripture doth not put these parts together in a Bishop, who never bor- wed of *Apostles*, *Evangelists* and *Angels* the mat- r of Governing and ordaining, and left the other of aching, dispensing Sacraments, and dealing only *in interno*, to Presbyters, untill after times. By this at hath been said, it is manifest enough, that we ntend not first *de nomine*, about the name of Epis- pall Government: which yet (though names serve r distinction) is not called or distinguished by that me in Scripture. Nor secondly, *de opere*, about the ork, whether the work of Governing, Ordering, eaching, &c. be of continuance in the Church, which clearly acknowledge: But thirdly, *de munere*, out the Office, it being a great fallacy to argue, hat the Apostles did the same worke which Bishops Presbyters are to do in Ordinary; Therefore they re of the same Office: for as it is said of the liberall learned Arts, one and the same thing may bee dled in divers of them, and yet these Arts are di- guisht from the *formalis ratio* of handling of them; e say of Officers, they are distinguished by their llings and Commissions, though not by the work, all those that are named, (*Ephes.* 4. 11.) *Apostles*

Prophets, *Evangelists*, *Pastors* and *Teachers*, are assigned to one and the same generall and common work: *The work of the Ministery*, verse 12. And yet they are not therefore all one, for its said, *some* Apostles, *some* Prophets, *some* Evangelists, and *some* Pastors and Teachers. A *Dictator* in *Rome* and an ordinary *Tribune*; *Moses* and the subordinate Governours of *Israel*; The Court of *Parliament* and of the *Kings Bench*, an *Apostle* and a *Presbyter* or *Deacon* may agree in some common work, and yet no confusion of Offices followes thereupon.

To that which your Majesty conceives, that the most that can be proved from all, or any of those places, by us alleged (to prove that the Name, Office, and Work of Bishops and Presbyters is one and the same in all things, and not in the least distinguisht) is, that the word Bishop is used in them to 'signifie a Presbyter, and that consequently the Office, and Work, mentioned in these places as the 'Office and Work of a Bishop, are the Office 'of a Presbyter, which is confessed on all sides; Wee make this humble return, That though there be no supposition so much as implied, that the Office of a Bishop and a Presbyter, are distinct in any thing (for the names are mutually reciprocall) yet we take your Majesties concession, that in these times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; and consequently that the identity of the Office must stand, untill there can be found a clear distinction or division in the Scriptures, and if we had argued the identity of Functions from the *community* of names, *and some part* of the work, the Argument might have been justly termed a *fallacy*, but we proved them the same Office from the same worke, *per omnia*, being allowed so to doe by the fullnes of those two words used in the *Acts* and

S. Peter

ever his Epiſtle πρεσβυτερων and επισκοπων under the
ce of which words the Biſhops claim their whole
wer of Government and Juriſdiction, and we found
little weight added to our Argument from that in
Acts, where the Apoſtle departing from the *Ephe-*
ſian Presbyters or Biſhops, as *never to ſee their faces more*
ommits (as by a finall charge) the Government of
hat Church, both over particular Presbyters and
People, not to *Timothy* who then ſtood at his elbow,
but to the Presbyters under the name of Biſhops,
made by the holy Ghoſt, whom we read to have ſet ma-
ny Biſhops over our Church, not one over either one
or many, and the Apoſtles arguing from the ſame
qualification of a Presbyter and of a Biſhop in order
to Ordination or putting him into Office, fully proves
them to be two names of the ſame Order or Functi-
on, the *diverſe Orders* of Presbyter and Deacon, be-
ing diverſly characteriſed, upon theſe grounds (wee
hope without fallacy) we conceive it juſtly proved,
that a Biſhop and a Presbyter are wholly the ſame.
That *Timothy* and *Titus* were ſingle perſons, having
authority of Government, we acknowledge; but de-
ny, that from thence any Argument can be made un-
to either ſingle Biſhop or Presbyter: for though a
ſingle Presbyter by the power of his Order (as they
call it) may preach the Word and diſpenſe the Sa-
craments; yet by that example of the Presbytery,
their *Laying on of hands*, and that Rule of *Telling the*
Church in matter of ſcandall, it ſeems manifeſt, that
Ordination and Cenſures are not to be exerciſed by a
ſingle Presbyter; neither hath your Majeſty hitherto
proved either the names of Biſhops and Presbyters,
or the Function, to be in other places of Scripture at
all diſtinguiſhed; You having wholly waved the no-
tice or anſwer of that we did inſert (and do yet de-
ſire ſome demonſtration of the contrary) *viz.* That
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the Scripture doth not afford us the least notice of any *qualification*, any *ordination*, any *work* or *duty*, any *honour* peculiarly belonging to a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; the assignment of which, or any of them unto a Bishop, by the Scripture, would put this Question near to an issue. That GOD should intend a distinct and highest kind of Officer for Government in the Church, and yet not expresse any qualification, worke, or way of constituting and ordaining of him, seems unto us improbable. Concerning the signification of the word *Episcopus*, importing an Overseer, or one that hath a charge committed to him: For instance, of watching a Beacon, or *keeping Sheep*; and the application of the name to such persons as have inspection of the Churches of Christ committed to them *in spiritualibus*: We also give our suffrage, but not to that distinction of *Episcopus gregis*, and *Episcopus pastorum & gregis*, both because it is the point in Question; and because also your MAJESTY having signified that *Episcopus* imports a *keeper of sheep*, yet you have not said that it signifies also a *keeper of shepherds*. As to that which is affirmed by 'your Majesty, that the peculiar of the function of 'Bishops is Church Government; and that the reason 'why the said *Episcopus* is so usually applyed to 'Presbytery, was, because Church Governours had 'then another Title of greater eminency, to wit, that 'of *Apostles*, untill the Government of the Churches 'came into the hands of their Successours; and then 'the names were by common usage very soon appro'priated; That of *Episcopus* to Ecclesiasticall Go'vernours; That of *Presbyters* to the ordinary 'Ministers. This assertion your Majesty is pleased 'to make without any demonstration; for the Scripture calls Presbyters Rulers, and Pastors and Teachers it calls Governours; and commits to them

the charge of feeding and inspection as wee have proved, and that without any mention of Church Government peculiar to Bishops; we deny not, but some of the Fathers have conceived the notion that Bishops were called Apostles, till the names of *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* became appropriate, which is either an allusion or conceipt, without evidence of Scripture; For, while the Function was one, the names were not divided; When the Function was divided, the name was divided also, and indeed impropriate; but we that look for the same warrant, for the division of an Office, as for the Constitution, cannot finde that this appropriation of names was made till afterwards, or in processe of time, as *Theodoret* (one of the Fathers of this conceit) affirms, whose saying, when it is run out of the pale of Scripture time, wee can no further follow; from which premises laid altogether, wee did conclude the cleerenesse of our assertion, That in the *Scriptures of the New Testament*, a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter in *Qualification, Ordination, Office or Dignity* is not found, the contrary whereof though your Majesty saith, that you have seen confirmed by great variety of credible Testimony, yet we believe those testimonies are rather strong in asserting, than in demonstrating the Scriptures Original of a Bishop, which is declared against by a cloud of witnesses, named in the later end of our former Answer, unto which we should refer if matter of right were not proper tryable by Scripture, as matter of fact is by Testimony.

We said that the Apostles were the highest Order of Officers of the Church, that they were extraordinary, that they were distinguisht from all other Officers, and that their Government was not *Episcopall*, but *Apostolicall*; to which Answer, your Majesty being

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not satisfied, doth oppose certain assertions, 'That 'Christ himself and the Apostles received their au-'thority by Mission, their ability by Unction; That 'the Mission of the Apostles was ordinary, and to 'continue to the end of the World; but the Unc-'on, whereby they were enabled to both Offices and 'Functions, Teaching and Governing, was indeed 'extraordinary; That in their Unction they were 'not necessarily to have Successors, but necessarily 'in their Mission or Office of Teaching and Gover-'ning; That in these two ordinary Offices their or-'dinary successours are Presbyters and Bishops; That 'Presbyters *qua* Presbyters doe immediately succeed 'them in the Office of Teaching, and Bishops '*qua* Bishops, immediately in the Office of Govern-'ing: The demonstration of which last alone, would have carried in it more conviction than all these assertions put together; Officers are distinguished by that whereby they are constituted, their Commission, which being produced, signed by one place of Scripture, gives surer evidence, than a Pedigree drawn forth by such a *series of distinctions as do not distinguish him* into another Office from a Presbyter; whether this chain of distinction be strong, and the links of it sufficiently tackt together, wee crave leave to examine, *Christ*, saith your Majesty, was the *Apostle and Bishop* of our souls, and hee made the Apostles both Apostles and Bishops; wee doe not conceive that your Majesty means that the Apostles succeeded Christ as the chiefe Apostle, and that as Bishops they succeeded Christ as a Bishop, lest thereby *Christ* his *Mission* as an *Apostle and Bishop* might be conceived as ordinary as their *Mission* is said to be: But we apprehend your Majesty to mean, that the Office of Apostle and Bishop, was eminently contained in Christs Office, as the Office of a Bishop was

eminently

…ently contained in that of Apoſtleſhip; but …ce it will not follow that *inferiour* offices being …tained in the *ſuperiour eminently*, are therefore ex…ent in it formally; For becauſe all *honours and dig…ies* are eminently contained in your Majeſty, would …therefore follow that your Majeſty is formally and …linctly a Baron of the Realm, as it is aſſerted the …poſtles to have been Biſhops in diſtinct ſenſe; That *Miſſion* refers to Office and Authority, and *Vnctio* onely to Ability, wee cannot conſent: for beſides …at the breathing of Chriſt upon his Diſciples ſay…ng, *Receive ye the holy Ghoſt*, doth refer to *miſſion* as …ell as *unction*; we conceive that in the proper *anoix…ng of Kings*, or other Officers, the naturall uſe and …ect of the oyl upon the body, was not ſo much in…nded, as the ſolemn and ceremonious uſe of it in the …auguration of them; ſo there is relation to Of…ce in unction, as well as to conferring of abilities; …elſe how are Kings, or Prieſts, or Prophets, ſaid to be …nointed? And what good ſenſe could be made of …at expreſſion in Scripture, of anonting one in ano…ers room: to omit, that Chriſt by this conſtructi…on ſhould be called the *Meſſias* in reſpect of abilities …nely. And although we ſhould grant your Majeſties …plication of *Miſſion* and *Vnction*, yet it will not fol…ow that the *Miſſion* of the Apoſtles was ordinary, and …eir *unction* onely extraordinary: That into which …ere is ſucceſſion, was ordinary; That into which …ere is no ſucceſſion, (for ſucceſſion is not unto abi…ities or gifts) extraordinary; and ſo the Apoſtles …re ordinary Officers in all whereunto there is pro…ly any ſucceſſion, and that is *Office*. They differed …m Biſhops in that wherein one Apoſtle or Officer …the ſame order might differ from another, to wit, …abilities and meaſure of Spirit, but not in that …herein one order of Officers is above another by

their

their office; to which we cannot give consent; since no man is denominated an Officer from his abilities and gifts, so neither can the Apostles be called extraordinary Officers, because of extraordinary gifts, but that the Apostles mission and Office (as well as their abilites) was extraordinary and temporary doth appear in that it was by immediate Commission from Christ, without any intervention of men, either in Election or Ordination for planting an authoritative governing of all Churches through the World, compreliending in it all other Officers of the Church whatsoever; and therefore it seems to us very unreasonable, that the office and authority of the Apostles should be drawn down to an ordinary, thereby to make, as it were, a fit *stock*, into which the ordinary office of a Bishop might be *ingrafted*, nor doth the continuance of Teaching and Governing in Christ himself, render his office therefore Ordinary. The reason given, That the Office of Teaching and Governing, was ordinary in the Apostles, because of the continuance of them in the Church (we crave leave to say) is that great mistake which runs through the whole file of your Majesties discourse, for though there be a succession in the *work* of Teaching and Governing, yet there is no succession in the *Commission or Office* by which the Apostles performed them, for the Office of *Christ*, of *Apostles*, of *Evangelists*, of *Prophets*, is thence also concluded Ordinary, as to *Teaching* and *Governing*, and the distinction of Offices Extraordinary and Ordinary *eatenus* destroyed; the Succcession may be into the same *work*; not into the same *Commission and Office*, the ordinary Officers, which are to manage the work of Teaching and governing, are constituted, setled and limited by warrant of Scripture, as by another Commission than that which the Apostles had. And if your Majesty had shown

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some Record out of Scripture, warranting the division of the Office of Teaching and Governing into two hands, and the appropriation of teaching to Presbyters, of governing to Bishops, the question had been determined, otherwise wee must look upon the dissolving of the Apostolicall Office, and distribution of it into these two hands, as the dictate of men who have a minde, by such a precarious Argument, to challenge to themselves the *Keyes of Authority*, and leave the *Word* to the Presbyters.

In our answer to the instances of *Timothy* and *Titus* (which Doctor *Bilson* acknowledgeth to bee the main erection of Episcopall power, if the proofs of their being Bishops, doe stand, or subversion; if the answer that they were Evangelists be good) your Majesty findes very little satisfaction though all that is said therein could bee proved.

First, because the Scripture no where implieth any such things at all, that *Titus* was an Evangelist, neither doth the Text clearly prove, that *Timothy* was so.

1. The name of *Bishop, the Scripture neither expressly, nor by implication gives it to either*, the work which 'they are enjoyned to doe is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and cannot of it 'selfe make a character of one distinct and proper office: But that there was such an order of *Officers* in the Church as Evangelists reckoned amongst the extraordinary and temporary Offices, and that *Timothy* was one of that Order, and that both *Timothy* and *Titus* were not ordained to one particular Church, but were companions and fellow Labourers with the Apostles, sent abroad to severall Churches as occasion did require, it (is as we humbly conceive) clear

clear enough in Scripture, and not denied by the learned defenders of Episcopall Government, nor (as we remember) by *Scultetus* himself during the time of their travails.

'2. To that which your Majesty secondly saith, 'That we cannot make it appear by any Text of Scripture that the Office of Evangelists is such as wee have 'described, his worke seeming, 2. *Timothy* 2. 4. '5. to be nothing else but diligence in preaching the 'Word, notwithstanding all impediments and 'oppositions, We humbly Answer, that exact Definitions of these or other Church Officers are hard to be found in any Text of Scripture, but by comparing one place of Scripture with another, it may be proved as well what they were, as what the Apostles and Presbyters were, the description by us given being a Character made up by collation of Scriptures, from which Master *Hooker*, *Eccles. Polit. lib.* 5. doth not much vary, saying, that *Evangelists were Presbyters of principall sufficiency, whom the Apostles sent abroad and used as Agents in Ecclesiasticall affairs, whersoever they saw need.* And that *Pastors* and *Teachers* were setled in some certaine Charge, & thereby differed from to *Evangelists*, whose work that it should be nothing but diligence in preaching, &c. which is common to Apostles, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, and so not distinctive of this particular Office, argueth to us, that as the Apostles Office was divided into Episcopall and Apostolicall, so this also is to be divided into Episcopall and Evangelisticall, Ordination and Censures belonging to *Timothy* as a Bishop, and diligence in preaching only being left to the *Evangelists*, which division (as we humbly conceive) is not warranted by the Scripture.

'Thirdly, your Majesty saith, that that which we

so

confidently affirm of *Timothy* and *Titus*, their acting as Evangelists, is by some *denied* and *refuted*, yea even with scorn *rejected* by some rigid Presbyterians; and that which we so confidently deny, that they were Bishops, is *confirmed* by the consentient testimony of all antiquity, recorded by *Jerome* himself, that they were Bishops of S. *Pauls* ordination, acknowledged by very many late Divines, and that a catalogue of twenty seven *Bishops of Ephesus* lineally succeeding from *Timothy*, out of good record, is vouched by D. *Reynolds* and other Writers.

Our confidence (as your Majesty is pleased to call it) was in our Answer exprest in these words, *We cannot say* that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops in the sense of your Majesty', but *extraordinary Officers or Evangelists*, in which opinion we were then cl ar, not out of a totall ignorance of those Testimonies which might be alledged against it, but from intrinsick arguments out of Scripture, from which your Majesty hath not produced any one to the contrary; nor is our confidence weakned by such replies as these; the Scripture never calls them Bishops, but the Fathers do; the Scripture calls *Timothy* an Evangelist; some of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn; the Scripture relates their motion from Church to Church, but some relate them to be fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Crete*: the Scripture makes distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that *Timothy* and *Titus* were both: we cannot give your Majesty a present account of *Scultetus* and *Ierhards* Arguments, but do believe that M. *Gillespi* and *Rutherford* are able with greater strength to refute that opinion of *Timothy* and *Titus* their being Bishops, then they do (if they do) with scorn reject this of their being Evangelists: As for *testimonies and catalogues*, though we undervalue them not, yet your Majesty will be pleased

sed to allow us the use of our Reason, so far as not to expect an Office in the Church, which is not found in Scripture, upon *generall appellations* or *titles* and *allusions* frequently found in the Fathers, especially when they speak *vulgarly*, and not as to a point in debate, for even *Jerome*, who as your Majesty saith doth Record, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were made Bishops, and and that of S. *Pauls* Ordination, doth when he speaks to the point between your Majesty and us, give the Bishops to understand that they are superiour to Presbyters *consuetudine magis quam Dominicæ veritatis dispositione*; for *catalogues*, their credit rests upon the first witnesses from whom they are reported by *tradition* from hand to hand, whose writings are many times *supposititious*, *dubious*, or not *extant*; besides that these *catalogues* do resolve themselves into some *Apostle* or *Evangelist* as the first *Bishop*, as the *catalogue* of *Jerusalem* into the Apostle *James*, that of *Antioch* into *Peter*; that of *Rome* into *Peter* and *Paul*, that of *Alexandria* into *Mark*, that of *Ephesus* into *Timothy*, which Apostles and Evangelists can neither themselves be degraded by being made Bishops, nor be succeeded in their proper calling or Office; and it is easie for us to proceed the same way, and to find many ancient rites and customs generally received in the Church (counted by the ancients *Apostolicall traditions*), as neer the Apostles times as Bishops, which yet, are confessedly, not of *Divine institution*: and further, if *Timothy* and the rest that are first in the *catalogue* were Bishops with such sole power of Ordination and Censures, as is asserted, how came their pretended Successors, who were but *primi Presbyterorum* (as the Fathers themselves call them) to lose so much Episcopall power as was in their Predecessours, and as was not recovered in 300. hundred years; and therefore we cannot upon any thing yet said, recede from

that

that of our Saviour, *ab initio non fuit sic*, from the beginning it was not so.

Your Majesty saith, that we affirm but upon very weak proofes, that they were from *Ephesus* and *Crete* removed to other places, the contrary whereunto hath been demonstrated by some, who have exactly out of Scripture, compared the times, and order of the severall journeys, and stations of *Paul* and *Timothy*.

It is confessed that our assertion, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were Evangelists, lies with some stresse upon this, that they *removed from place to place*, as they were *sent by* or *accompanied* the Apostles, the proof whereof appeares to us, to be of greater strength then can be taken off by the comparison which your Majesty makes of the *Divines of the Assembly at Westminster*. We begin with the *Travails* of *Timothy*, as we find them in order recorded in the Scripture-places cited in the Margin; and we *set forth* from *Berea*, *Acts* 17. 14. where we find *Timothy*; then next at *Athens*, *v.* 15. from whence *Paul* sends him to *Thessalonica*, 1 *Thes.* 3. 1, 2. afterward having been in *Macedonia*; he came to *Paul* at *Corinth*, *Acts* 18. 5. and after that, he is with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, and thence sent by him into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 19. 22. whither S. *Paul* went after him, and was by *Timothy* accompanied into *Asia*, *Acts* 20. 4. who was with him at *Troas*, *verse* 5. 6. who was with him at *Miletus*, *verse* 17. to which place Saint *Paul* sent for the Presbyters of the Church in *Ephesus*, and gave them that solemn charge to take heed unto *themselves*, and to all the *flock*, over which the Holy Ghost hath made them Bishops, not speaking a word of recommendation of that Church to *Timothy*, or of him to the Elders. And if *Timothy* was *Bishop of Ephesus*, he must be so when the *first Epistle* was sent to him, in

which he is pretended to receive the charge of exercising his Episcopall power in Ordination and Government; but it is manifest that after this Epistle sent to him, he was in continuall journeys, or absent from *Ephesus*. For *Paul* left him at *Ephesus* when he went from *Macedonia*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. and he left him there to exercise his Office, in regulating and ordering that Church and in ordaining; but it was after this time that *Timothy* is found with *Paul* at *Miletus*; for after *Paul* had been at *Miletus*, he went to *Jerusalem*, whence he was sent prisoner to *Rome*, and never came more into *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*, *Heb.* 13. 23. *Phil.* 1. 1. *Philem. v.* 1. *Col.* 1. 1. *Heb.* 13. 23. we find *Timothy* a prisoner with him; and these Epistles which *Paul* wrote while he was prisoner at *Rome*, namely the Epistle to the *Philippians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Colossians*, to the *Hebrews*, do make mention of *Timothy* as his companion at these times, nor do we ever find him again at *Ephesus*, for we find that *after all this*, towards the end of Saint *Pauls* life, after his first answering before *Nero*, and when he said his departing was at hand, he sent for *Timothy* to *Rome*, not from *Ephesus*; 2 *Tim.* 4. 6. 10, 11, 12, 16. for it seems that *Timothy* was not there, because *Paul* giving *Timothy* an account of the absence of the most of his companions sent into divers parts, he saith *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*. Now if your Majesty shall be pleased, to cast up into one totall that which is said, the several journeys and stations of *Timothy*, the order of them, the time spent in them, the nature of his employment, to *negotiate the affaires of Christ in severall Churches and places*, the silence of the Scriptures, as touching his being Bishop of any one Church, you will acknowledge that such a man was not a Bishop fixed to one Church or precinct, and then by assuming that *Timothy* was such

…, you will conclude that he was not Bishop of …ſus. The like concluſion may be enforced from the …premiſes, from the inſtance of *Titus*, whom we …d at *Jeruſalem*, *Galat.* 1. 2. before he came to …te, from whence he is ſent for to *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 3. …and after that he is ſent to *Corinth*, from whence …is expected at *Troas*, 2 *Cor.* 2. 12. and met with …d in *Macedonia*, 2 *Cor.* 5. 6. whence he is ſent again …Corinth, 2 *Cor.* 8. 6. and after all this is near the …e of *Pauls* death at *Rome*, from whence he went …t into *Crete*, but unto *Dalmatia*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. and …ſee this is not heard on the Scripture; and ſo we …pe your Majeſty doth conceive, that we affirm not …pon very *weak proofs*, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were …om *Epheſus*, and *Crete* removed to other places.

In the fifth exception your Majeſty takes notice of …wo places of Scripture cited by us, to prove that …ey were called away from thoſe places of *Epheſus*, …nd *Crete*; which if they do not conclude much of …emſelves, yet being accompanied by *two other pla-…* which your Majeſty takes no notice of, may ſeem …o conclude more, and theſe are 1 *Tim. v.* 1. 3. *Tit.* 1. 5. *As I beſought thee to abide ſtill at* Epheſus, *for this cauſe left I thee in Crete*, in both which is ſpecified the occaſionall imployment, for which they made ſtay in thoſe places: and the expreſſions uſed, I beſought thee to *abide ſtill at Epheſus*, *I left thee* in *Crete*, doe not ſound like words of *inſtallment* of a man into a Biſhoprick, but of an *intendment* to call them away again; and if the firſt and laſt be put together, his *actuall revocation* of them both, the intimation of his intention, that they ſhould not ſtay there for continuance, and the reaſon of his beſeeching the one to ſtay, and of his leaving the other behind him, which was ſome preſent defects and diſtempers in thoſe Churches; they will put fair to prove that the Apoſtle

stle *intended not* to establish them Bishops of those places, and therefore *did not*. For the *Postscripts*, because your Majesty laies no great weight upon them, we shall not be solicitous in producing evidence against them, though they do bear witnesse in a matter of fact, which in our opinion *never was*, and in your Majesties judgement *was long before they were borne*, and so we conclude this discourse about *Timothy* and *Titus* with this Observation, That in the same very Epistle of *Paul* to *Timothy*, out of which your Majesty hath endeavoured to prove that he was a Bishop, and did exercise Episcopall Government; there is clear evidence both for Presbyters *imposing hands*, in Ordination, and for their *Ruling*.

In the next point concerning the Angels of the 'Churches, though your Majesty saith, that you lay no 'weight upon the *Allegory* or *Mystery* of the denomi-'nation; yet you assert, that the persons bearing that 'name were *personæ singulares*, and in a word *Bishops*, who yet are never so called in Scripture, and the allegoricall denomination of Angels or Starrs, which in the judgement of ancient and modern Writers doth belong to the faithfull Ministers and Preachers of the Word in generall, is appropriate (as we may so say) to the *Myter* and *Crosier staffe*, and so opposed to many expresse testimonies of Scripture: And if your Majesty hath been particular in that, wherein you say the strength of your instance lies, *viz.* The judgement of all ancient, and of the best modern Writers, and many probabilities in the Text it self, we hope to have made it apparent, that many ancient and eminent Writers, many probabilities out of the Text it self do give evidence to the contrary. To that which is asserted, That these singular persons were Bishops in distinct sense, whether we brought any thing of moment to infirme this, we humbly submit to your

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Majesties judgement, and shall onely represent to you, that in your Reply you have not taken notice of that which in our Answer seemes to us of moment; which is this; That in *Mysterious* and *prophetick writings* or *visional representations* (such as this of the stars and golden Candlesticks is) a number of things or persons is usually expresst *in singulars*, and this in visions is the usuall way of Representation of things, a *thousand persons* making up one Church, is represented by one *Candlestick*; Many Ministers making up one Presbytery, by one Angell. And because your Majesty seems to call upon us to be particular, though we cannot name the Angells, nor are satisfied in our judgement, that those whom some do undertake to name were intended by the name of Angells in those Epistles; yet we say, *First*, that these Epistles were sent unto the Churches, and that under the expression of *this thou dost*, or *this thou hast*, and *the like*, the *Churches* are respectively intended; for the *sin reproved*, the *repentance commanded*, the *punishments threatned*, are to be referred to the Churches, and not to the singular Angells only, and yet we do not think that *Salmatius* did intend, nor do we, that in formall denomination the *Angels* and *Candlesticks* are the same.

Secondly, The Angels of these Churches or *Rulers* were a *Collective Body*, which we endeavoured to prove by such probabilities as your Majesty takes no notice of, namely the instance of the Church of *Ephesus*, where there were many Bishops, to whom the charge of that Church was Saint *Paul* at his finall departure from them committed, as also by that expression, *Revel.* 2. 24. *To you* and to the rest in *Thiatira*; which distinction makes it very probable, that the *Angel* is explained under that *plurality*, to you the like to which many expressions may be found

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in theſe Epiſtles, which to interpret according to the conſentient evidence of other Scriptures of the New Teſtament, is not ſafe onely, but Solid and Evidential.

Thirdly, theſe Writings are directed as Epiſtolary Letters to *Collective Bodies*, uſually are (that is) to *One*, but intended to the *Body*; which your Majeſty illuſtrateth by your ſending a Meſſage to your two Houſes, and directing it to the *Speaker of the Houſe Peers*; which as it doth not hinder (we confeſs) but that the *Speaker is one ſingle perſon*; ſo it doth not prove at all, that the *Speaker* is *always the ſame perſon*; or if he were, that therefore becauſe your Meſſage is directed to him, he is the *Governour* or *Ruler* of the two Houſes in the leaſt; and ſo your Majeſty hath given clear inſtance, that though theſe Letters be directed to the *Angels*, yet that notwithſtanding they might neither be Biſhops, nor yet *perpetuall Moderators*. For the ſeverall opinions ſpecified in your MAJESTIES paper, *three* of them, by eaſie and fair accommodation (as wee declared before) are ſoon reduced and united amongſt themſelves, and may be holden without *receſs* from the received judgment of the Chriſtian Church, by ſuch as are farre from meeting that Aſperſion, which is caſt upon the *Reformed Divines*, by Popiſh Writers, that they have divided themſelves from the common and received judgment of the *Chriſtian Church*; which imputation, we hope, was not in your Majeſties intention to lay upon us, *untill* it be made clear that it is the common and received judgment of the *Chriſtian Church* that *now is*, or of that in *former Ages*, that the Angels of the Churches were Biſhops, having Prelacy as well over Paſtors as people within their Churches.

In the following Diſcourſe we will deny, that the

the Apostles were to have any Successours in their Office, and affirmed onely *two Orders of Ordinary* and *standing Officers* in the Church, *viz. Presbyters* and *Deacons*. Concerning the former of which your MAJESTY refers to what you had in part already declared. 'That in those things which were extraordinary in the Apostles, as namely the measure of their 'Gifts, &c. They had no Successours in *eundem gradum*; but in those things which were not extraordinary, as the Office of Teaching and Power of Governing (which are necessary for the Service of 'the Church in all Times) they were to have and 'had no Successours: Where your Majesty delivers a Doctrine *new* to us. Namely, that the Apostles had Successours into their Offices, not into their Abilities: For besides that, Succession is not properly into Abilities, but into Office; We cannot say, that one succeeds another in his Learning, or Wit, or Parts, but in his Room and Function: we conceive, that the office Apostolical was extraordinary *in whole*, because their Mission and Commission was so, and the service or work of Teaching and Governing being to continue in all times doth not render their Office ordinary; as the Office of *Moses* was not rendred Ordinary, because many works of Government exercised by him, were re-committed to the *standing Elders of Israel*: And if they have Successours, it must be either into their whole Office, or into some parts: Their Successors into the whole (however differing from them in measure of Gifts and peculiar Qualifications) must be called Apostles; the same Office gives the same Denomination; and then we shall confess that Bishops, if they be their Successors in Office, are of *Divine Institution*, because the Apostolical Office was so; if their *Successors* come into part of their Office onely, the *Presbyters* may be as well called their

Successors,

Successors, as the Bishops, and so indeed they are called by some of the ancient Fathers, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Hierome*, and others: Whereas in truth the Apostles have not properly *Successors* into office; but the ordinary power of Teaching and Governing (which is setled in the Church for continuance) is instituted and setled in the hands of ordinary Officers by a *new warrant* and Commission according to the rules of Ordination and calling in the Word, which the the Bishop hath not yet produced for himself, and without which he cannot challenge it upon the generall allusive Speeches used by the Fathers without scruple.

And whereas your Majesty numbers the *extent* of their work amongst those things which were *extraordinary* in the Apostles, we could wish that you had declared whether it belong to their Mission or Unction; for we humbly conceive, that their authoritative power to do their work in all places of the World, did properly belong to their Mission, and consequently that their office, as well as their Abilities was extraordinary, and so by your *Majesties own concession* not to be succeeded into by the Bishops.

As to the Orders of standing Officers of the Church your Majesty doth reply, 'That although in the places cited, *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8. there be no mention but of the *two Orders onely of Bishops or Presbyters, and Deacons*; yet it is not thereby proved that there is no other standing Office in the Church besides; which we humbly conceive is justly proved, not only because there are no other named, but because there is no rule of Ordaining any *third*, no Warrant or *way of Mission*, and so the Argument is as good, as can be made, *à non causa ad non effectum*; for we do not yet apprehend that the Bishops pretending to the Apostolick Office do also pretend to the same manner of Mission, nor do we know that those very many Divines

that have asserted *two orders onely*, have concluded it from any other grounds then the Scriptures cited.

There appears (as your Majesty saith) two other manifest reasons why the Office of Bishops might not be so proper to be mentioned in those places. And we humbly conceive there is a third more manifest then these two, *viz.* because, *It was not.*

'The one reason given by your Majesty, is because 'in the Churches which the Apostles themselves 'planted, they placed Presbyters under them for the 'Office of Teaching, but reserved in their *own hands* 'the power of Governing those Churches for a longer 'or shorter time before they set Bish ps over them. Which under your Majesties favour is not so much a reason why *Bishops are not mentioned* to be in those places as they indeed were not; the variety of reasons (may we say, or conjectures) rendred why Bishops were not set up at *first*, as namely because *heresies* could not be so soon found out, which is *Epiphanius* his reason; or for remedy of *chisme*, which is *Jeromes* reason, or because the Apostles saw it not *expedient*, which is your MAJESTIES reason: doth shew that this cause labours under a manifest weakness; for the Apostles reserving in their own hands the power of Governing, we grant it, they could no more devest themselves of power of Governing, then (as Doctor *Bilson* saith) thy could lose their Apostleship: had they set up Bishops in all Churches, they had no more parted with their power of Governing, then they did in setting up the Presbyters: for we have proved that Presbyters, being called *Rulers*, *Governours*, *Bishops*, had the power of governing in *Ordinary*, committed to them, as well as the Office of *Teaching*, and that both the *Keys* (as they are called) being by our Saviour committed into

to

to *one hand*, were not by the Apostles divided into *two*? Nor do we see, how the Apostles could, reasonably, commit the Government of the Church to the Presbyters of *Ephesus*, *Acts* 20. and yet reserve the power of governing (*viz.* in ordinary) in his own hands, who took *his solemn leave of them as never to see their faces more*. As that part of the power of Government, which for distinction sake may be called *Legislative*, and which is one of the three fore-mentioned things challenged by the Bishops; *viz. Giving Rules*, the reserving of it in the Apostles hands hindred not; but that in your MAJESTIES judgement *Timothy* and *Titus* were Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, to whom the Apostle gives Rules for ordering and governing of the Church: Nor is there any more reason that the Apostles reserving that part of the power of governing, which is called Executive in such cases, and upon such occasions as they thought meet, should hinder the setting up of Bishops, if they had intended it; and therefore the reserving of power in their hands can be no greater reason why they did not set up Bishops *at the first*, then that *they never did*. And since (by your Majesties Concession) the Presbyters were placed by the Apostles *first*, in the Churches by them planted, and that with power of Governing, as we prove by Scripture, you must prove the *super-institution* of a Bishop over the Presbyters by the Apostles in some after times, or else we must conclude that the Bishops got both his Name and power of Government out of the Presbyters hand, as the *Tree in the wal* roots out the stones by little and little as it self grows.

As touching *Philippi*, where your Majesty saith, it may be probable there was *yet no Bishop*, it is certain there *were many* like them, who were also at *Ephesus*, to whom if only the Office of Teaching did belong

they

they had the most laborious and honourable part, that which was lesse honorable being reserved in the Apostles hands, and the Churches left in the mean time without ordinary Government.

The other reason given why two Orders only are mentioned in those places is, because he wrote in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* to them that were Bishops, so there was no need to write any thing concerning the choice and qualification of any other sort of Officers then such, as belonged to their Ordination and inspection, which were Presbyters and Deacons only, and no Bishops.

The former reason why two only Orders are mentioned in the Epistle to the *Philippians*, was, because *there was yet no Bishop*; this latter reason why the same two onely are mentioned in these Epistles, is because there was *no Bishop to be ordained*; we might own the reason for good, if there may be found any rule for the Ordination of the other order of Bishops in some other place of Scripture, but if the *Ordination cannot be found*, how should we *find the Order*? and it is reasonable to think, that the Apostle in the Chapter formerly alledged, 1 *Tim.* 3: where he passes immediately from the Bishop to the Deacon, would have distinctly expresst, or at least hinted, what sort of Bishop he meant, whether the *Bishop over Presbyters*, or the *Presbyter-Bishop*, to have avoided the confusion of the name, and to have set as it were some mark of difference in the *Eschocheon* of the Presbyter-Bishop, if there had been some other Bishop *of a bigger house*. And whereas your Maj. saith, there was no need to write to them about a Bishop in a distinct sense, who belonged not to their ordination and inspection; we conceive that in your Majesties judgment, Bishops might then have ordained Bishops like themselves; for there was then no *Canon* forbidding one single Bishop

to

to ordain another of his own rank, and there being many cities in *Crete*, *Titus* might have found it expedient (as those ancient Fathers that call him Arch-Bishop think he did) to have set up Bishops in some of those cities: so that this reason fights against the principles of those that hold *Timothy* & *Titus* to have been Bishops; for our part we believe that these rules belonged not to *Timothy* & *Titus* with strict limitation to *Ephesus* & *Crete*; but respectively to all the places or Churches where they might come; and to all that shall at any time have the office of Ordaining and Governing, as it is written in the same Chapter, 1 *Tim.* 3. 14, 15. *Those things I have written unto thee, &c. that thou mayest know how to behave thy self in the House of God*, which is the *Church*; and therefore if there had been any proper character or qualification of a Bishop distinct from a Presbyter; if any Ordination or Office, we think the Apostle would have signified it, but because he did not, we conclude (and the more strongly from the insufficiency of your Majesties two reasons) that there are onely two Orders of Officers, and consequently that a Bishop is not superior to a Presbyter: for we find not (as we said in our Answer) that one Officer is superior to another, who is of the same Order.

Concerning the Ages succeeding the Apostles.

'Your Majesty having in your first Paper said, that 'you could not in conscience consent to abolish E-'piscopal Government, because you did conceive it 'to be of Apostolical Institution, practised by the A-'postles themselves, and by them committed and de-'rived to particular persons as their Successors, and 'have ever since till these last times been exercised by 'Bishops in all the Churches of Christ: We thought it

it necessary in our Answer, to subjoyne to that we had said out of the Scriptures, the judgement of divers ancient Writers and Fathers, by whom Bishops were not acknowledged as a *Divine;* but as an *Ecclesiastical Institution*, as that which might very much conduce both to the easing of your Majesties scruple, to consider that howsoever Episcopall Government was generally currant, yet the superscription was not judged Divine, by some of those that either were themselves Bishops, or lived under that government, and to the vindication of the opinion which we hold, from the prejudice of *Novelliſme*, or of *receſſe* from the judgement of all Antiquity.

We do as firmly believe (as to matter of fact) that *Chryſoſtome* and *Auſtin* were Bishops, as that *Ariſtotle* was a *Philoſopher*, *Cicero* an Oratour; though we should rather call our faith and belief thereof certain in matter of fact, upon humane testimonies unconrolled, then infallible in respect of the Testimonies themselves. But whereas your Majesty saith, 'That 'the darkneſſe of the History of the Church, in the 'time succeeding the Apostles, is a strong argument 'for Episcopacy, which notwithstanding that dark-'neſſe, hath found so full proof by unquestioned Cata-'logues, as scarce any other matter of fact hath found 'the like. We humbly conceive that those fore-mentioned times were dark to the Catalogue-makers, who must drive the *series* of Succession from, and through those Historicall darknesses, and so make up their catalogues very much from Tradition and Reports, which can give no great evidence, because they agree not amongst themselves: that which is the great blemish of their evidence is, that the neerer they come to the Apostles times (wherein they should be most of all clear, to establish the Succession firm and clear at first) the more doubtfull, uncertain, and indeed contradictory

contradictory to one another, are the Testimonies. Some say that *Clemens* was first Bishop of *Rome*, after *Peter*, some say the third: and the intricacies about the Order of Succession, in *Linus*, *Anacletus*, *Clemens*, and another called *Cletus* (as some affirm) are inextricable. Some say, that *Titus* was Bishop of *Crete*; some say Archbishop; and some Bishop of *Dalmatia*. Some say, that *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus*; and some say, that *John* was Bishop of *Ephesus* at the same time: Some say that *Polycarpus* was first Bishop of *Smyrna*; another saith, that he succeeded one *Buculus*; and another, that *Aristo* was first. Some say, that *Alexandria* had but one Bishop, and other Cities two; and others, that there was but one Bishop of one City at the same time. And how should those Catalogues be unquestionable, which must be made up out of Testimonies that fight one with another? We must confesse that the ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Irenaus*, *&c.* made use of Succession, as an Argument against *Heretikes*, or Innovators, to prove that they had the *traduces Apostolici seminis*, and that the Godly and Orthodox Fathers were on their side. But that which we now have in hand, is Succession in Office; which according to the Catalogues, resolves it self into some Apostle, or Evangelist, as the first Bishop of such a City or Place, who (as we conceive) could not be Bishops of those places, being of an higher Office; though according to the language of after-times they might by them that drew up the catalogues, be so called, because they planted, and founded, and watered those Churches to which they are intituled, and had their greatest residence in them: or els the Catalogues are drawn from some eminent men that were of great veneration and reverence in the times and places where they lived, and Presidents or Moderators of the Presbyteries, whereof themselves

selves were members: from whom, to pretend succession of after Bishops, is as if it should be said, that *Cæsar* was Successor to the Roman Consuls. And we humbly conceive, that there are some Rites and Ceremonies used continually in the Church of old, which are asserted to be found in the Apostolicall and primitive times, and yet have no colour of Divine institution, and, which is an Argument above all other, the Fathers whose names were exhibited to your Majesty in our Answer, were doubtles acquainted with the Catalogues of Bishops who had been before them, & yet did hold them to be of *Ecclesiastical institution*. And lest your Majesty might reply, that however the Testimonies & Catalogues may vary, or be mistaken in the order, or times, or names of those Persons that succeeded the Apostles, yet all agree, that there was a succession of some persons; and so though the credit of the Catalogues be infirmed, yet the thing intended is confirmed thereby: we grant that a succession of men to feed and govern those Churches, while they continued Churches, cannot be denyed, and that the Apostles and Evangelists that planted and watered those Churches (though extraordinary and temporary Officers) were by Ecclesiasticall writers, in *compliance with the language and usage of their own times*, called Bishops; and so were other eminent men, of chief note, *presiding* in the *Presbyterys* of the Cities or Churches, called by such writers as wrote after the division or distinction of the names of Presbyters, and Bishops: but that those first and antienteſt Presbyters were Bishops in proper sense, according to your Majesties description, invested with power over Presbyters and people, to whom (as distinct from Presbyters) did belong the power of ordaining, giving Rules, and Censures; we humbly conceive can never be proved by authentick or competent testimonies. And

granting, that your Majesty should prove the Succession of Bishops from the Primitive times *seriatim*; yet if these from whom you draw, and through whom you derive it, be found either more than Bishops, as Apostles and extraordinary persons, or lesse than Bishops, as meerly *first* Presbyters, having not one of the *three essentialls to Episcopal government* (mentioned by your Majesty) in their own hand; it will follow, that all that your Majesty hath proved by this Succession, is the *Homonomy* and equivocall acceptation of the word *Episcopus*.

For *Clemens* his testimony, which your Majesty conceiveth to be made use of, as our old fallacy, from the promiscuous use of the words to infer the distinction of the things, we refer our selves to himselfe in his Epistle, now in all mens hands, whose testimony we think cannot be eluded, but by the old artifice of *hiding the Bishop under the Presbyters name*: For they that have read his whole Epistle, and have considered, that himselfe is called a Bishop, may doubt of *Clemens opinion*, concerning his distinct Offices of Bishops and Presbyters, or rather not doubt of it, if only his one Epistle may be impaneld upon the inquest. Concerning *Ignatius* his Epistles, your Majesty is pleased to use some earnestnesse of expression, charging some of late, without any regard of *ingenuity* or *truth*, out of their partiall disaffection to Bishops, to have endeavoured to discredit his writings. One of those cited by us, cannot (as we conceive) be suspected of disaffection to Bishops; and there are great arguments drawn out of those Epistles themselves, betraying their insincerity, adulterate mixtures, and *interpolations*. So that *Ignatius* cannot be distinctly known in *Ignatius*. And if we take him in grosse, we make him the *Patron* (as *Baronius* and the rest of the Popish writers do) of such rites and observations, as the Church in

his time cannot be thought to have *owned*. He doth indeed give teſtimony to the *Prelacy* of a Biſhop above a Presbyter. that which may juſtly render him ſuſpected, is that he, *gives too much honour* (ſaith he) *the Biſhops* as Gods high Prieſts, and *after him* you muſt honour the *King*. He was indeed a holy *Martyr*, and his writings have ſuffered *Martyrdom*, as well as he, *corruptions could not go current, but under the credit of worthy names*.

That which your Majeſty ſaith in your fourth Paragraph, That we might have added (if we had pleaſed) That *Iames*, *Timothy*, *Titus &c.* were conſtituted and ordained Biſhops, of the forementioned places reſpectively, and that all the Biſhops of thoſe times were reputed Succeſſors to the *Apoſtles in their Epiſcopall office*: we could not have added it without prejudice (as we humbly conceive) to the truth; for the Apoſtles did not ordain *any of themſelves Biſhops*, nor could they do it; for even by your Majeſties conceſſion, they were Biſhops before, *viz.* as they were Apoſtles; nor could any Apoſtle have his choice of a *certaine Region* or place to exerciſe his function in, whileſt he pleaſed render him a Biſhop, any more than *Paul* was Biſhop of the *Gentiles*, *Peter* of the *Circumciſion*. Neither did the Apoſtles ordaine the Evangeliſts Biſhops of thoſe places unto which they ſent them: Nor were the Biſhops of thoſe times any more than as your Majeſty, ſaith *reputed Succeſſors* to the Apoſtles, in their Epiſcopall Office, they came after the Apoſtles in the Churches by them planted, ſo might Presbyters do; but that is not properly ſucceſſion, at leaſt not ſucceſſion into Office, and this we do with a *Salvo* to our aſſertion, that in thoſe times there were no ſuch Biſhops diſtinct from Preſbyters: Neither do we underſtand, whether the words *Epiſcopall Office*, in this Section, refer to the Biſhops or

Apostles; for in reference to Apostles, it insinuates a distinction of the Apostles office, into Apostolical and Episcopall, or that the office Apostolicall was wholly Episcopall, unto neither of which we can give our consent for reasons forementioned. To the testimonies by us recited in proof of two only Orders, your Majesty answers first, that the promiscuous use of the names of Bishops and Presbyters, is imported, That which his Majesty not long ago called *Our old fallacy*, is now your answer only with this difference: We under promiscuous names hold the same office: your Majesty under promiscuous names supposes two, which if as it is often asserted was but once proved, we should take it for a determinate of this controversie. Secondly, that they relate to a School-'point, or a nicety, *Utrum Episcopus sit ordo vel* 'gradus, both sides of the questionists or disputants 'in the mean time acknowledging the right of Church 'Government in the Bishops alone; It is confest by us, that that question as it is stated by Popish Authors, is a curious nicety, to which we have no eye or reference; for though the same Officers may differ from and excell others of the same Order in guifts or qualifications; yet the Office it selfe is one and the same without difference or degrees, as one Apostle or Presbyter, is not superiour to another in degree of Office, they that are of the same order are of the same degree, in respect of Office, as having power and authority to the same Acts. Nor doth the Scripture warrant or alow, any superiority of one over another of the same Order; and therefore the proving of two Orders only in the Church, is a Demonstration, that Presbyters and Bishops are the same. In which point the Scripture will counter-ballance the testimonies of those that assert three degrees or orders though ten for one. But for easing of your Majesty of

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the trouble of producing teſtimonies againſt thoſe cited by us, we make this humble motion, that the Regiments on both ſides may be diſcharged out of the field, and the point diſputed by dint of holy Scripture, *verum quod primum*.

Having paſſed through the argumentative parts of your Majeſties Reply, wherein we ſhould account it a great happineſſe to have given your Majeſty any ſatisfaction, in order whereunto you pleaſed to honour us with this imployment, we ſhall contract our ſelves in the remainder, craving your Majeſties pardon, if you ſhall conceive us to have been too much in the former, and too little in that which followes. We honour the pious intentions and munificence of your Royall Progenitors, and do acknowledge that ornamentall acceſſions granted to the perſon, doe not make any ſubſtantiall change in the Office; the reall difference between that Epiſcopall Government, which firſt obtained in the Church, and the preſent Hierarchy, conſiſts *in ipſo regimine, & modo regiminis*, which cannot be clearly demonſtrated in particulars, untill it be agreed on both ſides, what that Epiſcopacy was then, and what the Hierarchy is now, and then it would appear, whether theſe three fore-mentioned eſſentials of Epiſcopall Government, were the ſame in both: for the power under Chriſtian Princes, and under Pagan, is one and the ſame, though the exerciſe be not. And we humbly receive your Majeſties Pious advertiſement, (not unlike that of *Conſtantines*) ſtirring us up as men unbiaſſed with private intereſts, to ſtudy the neereſt accommodation and beſt reſemblance to the apoſtolicall and primitive times. But for your Majeſties *Salvo* in the Biſhops ſole power of Ordination and Juriſdiction, and that diſtinction of Ordination, authoritative in the Biſhop, and the Concomitant in the Presbytery,

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which you seem to found upon these two Texts, two *Tim.*1.6.1 *Tim.*4.14. and which is used by Dr. *Bilson*, and other defenders of Episcopacy, in Explication of that Canon of the fourth Councell of *Carthage*, which enjoynes the joynt imposition of the Bishops and Presbyters hands, we shall give your Majesty an account, when we shall be called to the disquisition thereof; Albeit that we do not for the present see, but that this proviso of your Majesty, renders our accommodation to the Apostolicall and primitive times (whereunto you did exhort us) unseisable. We notwithstanding, do fully professe our acknowledgement of subordination of the outward exercise of jurisdiction, to the Soveraine power, and our accomptableness to the Lawes of the Land. As for your Majesties three questions of great importance, whether there be a certain form of Government, left by Christ or his Apostles, to be observed by all Christian Churches; whether it bind perpetually, or be upon occasion alterable in whole, or in part; whether that certain form of Government be the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or some other differing from them both: the whole Volume of Ecclesiasticall Policy is contained in them; and we hope that neither your Majesty expected of us a particular answer to them at this time, nor will take offence at us, if we hold only to that which is the question, in order to the Bill of *Abolition*; for we humbly profess our readiness to serve your Majesty, answering these or any other questions, within our proper *cognizance*, according to the proportion of our mean abilities.

For your Majesties condiscention, in vouchsafing us the liberty and honour of examining your learned Reply, clothed in such excellency of Stile, and for your exceeding candour, shewed to such men as we are; and for the acceptation of our humble duty we render

render to your Majesty most humble thanks, and shall pray, that such a pen in the hand of such abilities, may ever be imployed in a Subject worthy of it.

That your Majesty would please to consider, that in this point under debate, *Succession* is not the best clew and most certaine and ready way to find out the *Originall*; for to go that way is to go the furthest way about, yea, *to go backward*; and when you are at the *spring*, *viz.* the *Scripture* it selfe, you go to the *Rivers* end, that you may seek the *spring*.

And that the Lord would guide your Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, by the right hand of his Counsell, and shew you a happy way of healing your unhappy differences, and of setling of the Common wealth of Iesus Christ, which is the Church; so as all the Members thereof, may be under you in all godlinesse, peace and Honesty.

His MAJESTIES *finall Answer concerning Episcopacy*, November the first, 1648.

WHat you have offered by way of reply to his Majesties second paper of Octob. 6. in yours October 17. in order to the further satisfaction of conscience in point of Episcopacy, His Majesty heard when it was publickly read by you, with diligent attention, and hath since (so far as his leasure could permit) taken the same into his private and

serious Consideration; Wherein his Majesty not only acknowledgeth your great pains and endeavours to inform his Judgement, according to such perswasions as your selves have in the matter in debate; but also taketh speciall notice of the civility of your applications to him both in the Body and Conclusion of your Reply: yet he cannot but observe withall, that in very many things you either mistake his meaning and purpose in that paper, or at least come not up fully enough thereunto in this Reply. Which to have shewn, will sufficiently remonstrate your present Reply to be unsatisfactory in that behalf, without making a particular answer to every passage in it, which to a paper of that length would require more time than his Majesty can think fit (amidst the present weighty affairs) to allow unto a debate of this nature, Especially since his Majesty hath often found mutuall returns of long answers, and Replyes, to have rather multiplied disputes by starting new questions, than informing the conscience by removing *former scruples*.

1. *Reply*, Sect. 1. 2, *As to the Scriptures cited in the Margin of his Majesties first paper*. It being granted by you, that those Scriptures did prove the Apostles, and others being single persons to have exercised respectively the severall points, in the paper specified, which powers (by your own confessions in this Reply) (*Sect.* 7.) a single person who is but a meer Presbyter hath no right to exercise: And it being withall evident, that a Bishop in the Ecclesiasticall sense, & as distinct from a Presbyter, layeth claim to no more than to a peculiar right in the exercise of some, or all of the said powers, which a meer Presbyter hath not; the Conclusion seemeth naturall and evident, that such a power of Church-Government as we usually call Episcopall is sufficiently proved by those Scriptures.

2. *Reply. Sect.* 3. 5, *As to the Bishops Challenge*, First when

when you speak of a Writ of partition, you seem to take his Majesties words, as if he had shared and cantond out the Episcopal Office, one part to the Bishops alone, another to the Presbyters alone; and you fall upon the same again afterwards (*Sect.* 6.) whereas his Majesties meaning was, and by his words appeareth so to have been, that one part of the Office (*that of teaching, &c.*) was common to both alike; but the other part (*that of governing Churches*) to the Bishop alone. Secondly you infer from his Majesties words, 'That 'the Bishops challenge appears to be grown to more 'than was formerly pretended to. Which inference 'his Majesties words by you truly cited, if rightly understood, will not bear. For having proved from Scripture the power of Church-government, in all the three mentioned particulars to have been exercised by the Apostles, and others; his Majesty said but this onely, 'That the Bishops challenge no more, or o-'ther power to belong unto them, in repect of their 'Episcopall Office, than what properly falleth under 'one of these three. The words are true; for he that believeth they challenge not so much, might safely say, they challenge no more. But the inference is not good For he that saith they challenge no more, doth not necessarily imply they challenge all that. In the power of Ordination which is purely spiritual, his Majesty conceiveth the Bishops challenge to have been much-what the same in all times of the Church; And therefore it is, that the matter of Ordination is most insisted on, as the most constant and most evident difference between Bishops & Presbyters, especially after the times of *Constantine*, which his Majesty by your relating to *Chrysostom* & *Hierome* taketh to be the same you call the times of *Grown Episcopacy*. But his Majesty seeth no necessity, that the Bishops challenge to the power of Jurisdiction should be at all times, as large

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as the exercise thereof appeareth at some times to have bin; the exercise thereof being variable according to the various condition of the Church in different times. And therefore his Majesty doth not believe that the Bishops under Christian Princes doe challenge such an amplitude of jurisdiction to belong unto them in respect of their Episcopall Office precisely, as was exercised in the Primitive times by Bishops before the dayes of *Constantine*. The reason of the difference being evident, That in those former times under Pagan Princes the Church was a distinct Body of it self, divided from the Common-wealth, and so was to be governed by its own Rules, and Rulers. The Bishops therefore of those times, though they had no outward coercive power over mens persons or estates, yet inasmuch as every Christian man when he became a Member of the Church, did *ipso facto*, and by that his own voluntary act, put himself under their Government, they exercised a very large power of Jurisdiction in *Spiritualibus*, in making Ecclesiasticall Canons, receiving accusations, conventing the accused, examining witnesses, judging of crimes, excluding such as they found guilty of scandalous offences from the Lords supper, enjoyning penances upon them, casting them out of the Church, receiving them again upon their repentance, &c. And all this they exercised as well over Presbyters as others: But after that the Church under Christian Princes began to be incorporated into the Common-wealth, whereupon there must of neceſſity follow a complication of the Civil and Ecclesiastical powers, the Jurisdiction of Bishops (in the outward exercise of it) was subordinate unto, and limitable by the Supreme Civill power, and hath been, and is at this day, so acknowleged by the Bishops of this Realm.

Thirdly, you seem to affirm in a parenthesis, as if nothing

nothing were confeſſed to have been extraordinary in the Apoſtles but their Gifts, and Enablements onely; whereas his Majeſty in that paper hath in expreſs words named as Extraordinaries alſo, the extent of their charge, and the infallibility of their Doctrine, without any meaning to exclude thoſe not named, as their immediate Calling, and if there be any other of like reaſon.

Fourthly, for the Claim to a *jus Divinum*, His Majeſty was willing to decline both the Term (as being by reaſon of the different acception of it ſubject to miſ-conſtruction) and the diſpute whether by Chriſt or his Apoſtles. Nevertheleſſe, although his Majeſty ſees no cauſe to diſlike their opinion, who derive the Epiſcopall power originally from Chriſt himſelf, without whoſe warrant the Apoſtles would not either have exerciſed it themſelves, or derived it to others; Yet for that the practice in them is ſo clear, and evident, and the warrant from him expreſt but in general terms (As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you, and the like) His Majeſty choſe rather (as others have done) to fix the claim of the power upon that practice, as the more evidentiall way, than upon the warrant, which by reaſon of the generality of expreſſion would bear more diſpute.

3. *Reply*, Sect. 6. *As to the definition of Epiſcopacy.* Firſt, whereas you except againſt it, for that it is competent to Archiepiſcopal and Patriarchal Government as well as Epiſcopall, his Majeſty thinketh you might have excepted more juſtly againſt it if it had been otherwiſe.

Secondly, his Majeſty believeth, that even in the perſons by you named (*Timothy*, *Titus*, and the Angels) the definition in all the parts of it is to be found *viz.* that they had each their ſeveral peculiar charges, and that within their ſeverall precincts they had authority over Presbyters as well as others. Nei-

Neither thirdly, doth his Majesty think it needfull that any word be added to the *Genus* in the definition, or that the Scripture should any where put all the parts of the definition together; It would be a hard matter to give such a definition of an Apostle, or a Prophet, or an Evangelist, or a Presbyter, or a Deacon, or indeed almost of any thing, as that the parts thereof should be found in any place of Scripture put altogether.

Fourthly, his Majesty consenteth with you, that the point in issue, is not the Name or Work merely, but the Office, and that it were a fallacy to argue a particular Office from a generall or common Work: But judgeth withall it can be no fallacy to argue a particular Office, from such a work as is peculiar to that Office, and is as it were the *formalis ratio* thereof, and therefore no fallacy from a work done by a single person, which a single Presbyter hath no right to do, to infer an Office in that person distinct from the Office of a Presbytr.

4 *Reply*, Sect. 7. *As to the Scriptures cited by you, viz. Tit.* 1. *Acts* 20. 2 *Pet.* 5. First when you say you take his Majesties Concession, That in those times of the Church, and places of Scripture, there was no distinct Office of Bishops and Presbyters; If you take it so, truly you take it *gratis*, (His Majesty never gave it you:) and you mistake it too, more wayes than one, for to speak properly, His Majesty made no Concession at all. It was rather a Preterition in order to the present businesse, and to avoid unnecessary disputes, which ought not to be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the truth of your Expositions of those places. For his own expresse words are, 'Although 'his Majesty be not sure that the proof wil reach so far 'in each of those places, which words plainly evidence, that which you call his Majesties Concession to be indeed

need no conceſſion; but to have been meant according to that form of ſpeech very uſual in Diſputations, *Dato, non conceſſo.* But in that Conceſſion, ſuch as it is, his Majeſty is not able to imagine what you could find whereon to ground thoſe words, 'That in thoſe times 'of the Church there was no diſtinct, &c. there being not any thing in the whole paſſage that carrieth the leaſt ſound that way, or that hath relation to any particular times of the Church. Neither is the Conceſſion ſuch as you take it, as it relateth to thoſe places of Scripture. What his Majeſty ſaid is confeſſed on all ſides (which are the words you take for a Conceſſion) was but this, That ſuppoſing (but not granting) the word Biſhop to be uſed in all thoſe places to ſignifie a Presbyter, the Office and Work in thoſe places mentioned as the Office & Work of a Biſhop are (upon that ſuppoſal) the Office and Work of a Presbyter, which is ſo manifeſt a truth, that no man without admitting contradictions can ſay the contrary. But how wide or ſhort that is from what you make to be his Majeſties Conceſſion, your ſelves by comparing his words with yours may eaſily judge. But your ſelves a little after make a conceſſion, which his Majeſty (warned by your Example how ſoon anothers meaning may be miſtaken when his words are altered) is willing to take in the ſame words you give it, *viz.* When you ſay, and you bring reaſons alſo to prove it, That it ſeemeth manifeſt, that Ordination and Cenſures are not to be exerciſed by a ſingle Presbyter.

2. You repeat your Arguments formerly drawn from thoſe places, and preſſe the ſame from the force of the words ποιμαίνειν & ἐπισκοπεῖν, and from the circumſtances of the Text, and otherwiſe adding withall that his Majeſty hath waved the notice or anſwer of ſomething by you alleged therein. Hereunto his Majeſty ſaith, that he waved not any thing in your former paper

per, for any great difficultie he conceived of answering it; but being desirous to contract his answer, & knowing to what frailties, Arguments drawn from Names and Words, and conjecturall Expositions of Scripture are subject, he passed by such things as he deemed to be of least consideration in order to the end of the whole debate; to wit the satisfaction of his judgment and conscience in the main businesse. Otherwise his Majesty could have then told you, That there are, who by the like conjectures, grounded (as seems to them) on some *probabilities* in the *text*, interpret those places in the *Acts* & in S. *Peter* of Bishops properly so called, & in the restrained Ecclesiasticall sense, rather than of ordinary Presbyters; That supposing them both meant of ordinary Presbyters, the words ποιμαίνειν and ἐπισκοπεῖν (which signifie to feed and to oversee) might not unfitly be applyed to them as inferiour Pastors, in relation to their flocks under their charge and oversight (the Flock being in both the places expresly mentioned) which hindereth not, but the same words may in a more peculiar manner be appropriated to Bishops in respect of that authority and oversight they have over Presbyters themselves also; That still granting your own interpretation of the word Bishop in that place to *Titus*, it can prove no more than that the two names in that place are given to the same Function: That from all the premises in your paper there laid together, and supposed true, his Majesty doth not conceive it justly proved, That the Office of a Bishop and Presbyter is wholly the same, but at the most, that the Offices were not in those places distinguished by those Names.

Thirdly, if the assignment of any particular Qualification, work or duty, unto a Bishop, distinct from a Presbyter, by the Scripture, would (as you say) put this question neer to an issue; his Majesty should well

well have hoped, that it might ſoon be brought to a neer point, and that from the evidence of the Epiſtles onely of S. *Paul to Timothy*, Wherein as he particularly expreſſeth the qualification, work, and duty of Presbyters and Deacons, that *Timothy* might know what perſons were fit to be ordained unto thoſe offices: So in the directions given to *Timothy* throughout thoſe Epiſtles, he ſufficiently deſcribeth the qualification, work and duty of a Biſhop, that *Timothy* might know how to behave himſelf in the exerciſe of his Epiſcopall Office, as well in ordaining as in governing the Church.

As to the ſignification of the word *Epiſcopus*, the primary ſignification thereof, and the application of it to Church Officers, you acknowledge: and that the ſame was after by Eccleſiaſticall uſage appropriated to Biſhops you deny not: But the diſtinction of *Epiſcopus gregis, & Epiſcopus paſtorum*, you do not allow. If you diſallow it for the unfitneſſe of the word as may ſeem by that paſſage, where you ſay, that his Majeſty hath ſaid, that *Epiſcopus* ſignifieth a Keeper of Shepherds; His Majeſty thinketh you might very well have ſpared that exception. For if there be a perſon that hath the overſight of many Shepherds under him, there is no more impropriety in giving ſuch a perſon, the ſtile of *Epiſcopus paſtorum*, than there is in uſing of the word ἀρχιποιμὴν, or in calling *Doeg* the Maſter of *Sauls* Herdmen. And for the thing it ſelf, it cannot be denied, but that the Apoſtles, and *Timothy* and *Titus* (by what claim ordinary, or extraordinary, as to the preſent buſineſſe it matters not) had the overſight and authority over many Paſtors, and were therefore truly and really *Epiſcopi paſtorum*.

The appropriation of the names of *Epiſcopus* and *Presbyter* to theſe diſtinct Offices, conſidering that it was done ſo early, and received ſo univerſally in the

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Church, as by the writings of *Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the Canons commonly called of the Apostles, and other ancient evidences doth appear. His Majesty hath great reason to believe, that it was done by consent of the primitive Bishops, meerly in honour of the Apostles, out of their respect and reverence to whose persons, and personall prerogatives, they chose to call themselves Bishops, rather than Apostles, in common usage, although they made no scruple to maintain their succession from the Apostles, when they spake of things proper to the Episcopall Function. not to use upon occasion the terms of Apostle and Apostolical in that sense, the truth of all which is to be seen frequently in the writings of the Ancients.

The testimonies of so many writers, ancient and modern, as have been produced for the Scripture-originall of Bishops, his Majesty conceiveth to be of so great importance in a question of this nature, that he thinketh himself bound both in charity & reason to believe, that so many men of such quality would not have asserted the same with so much confidence but upon very good ground. The men respectively of high estimation & reverend authority in the Church, worthily renowned for their learning and piety, of moderate & even passions, of *orthodox* belief, sundry of them unintereſſed in the quarrel, and some of them of later times by interest & education byassed rather the other way. Their assertions positive, peremptory, and full of assurances (*constat*, *& nemo ignorat*; it is clear, none can be ignorant, and other such like expressions) Namely that Christ constituted Bishops in the Apostles; That it was founded upon a divine Law, That *Episcopacy* is θεσπέσιος διάταξις, The Ordinance of God; That it seemed good to the *holy Ghost* so to order it, &c. Insomuch as they counted *Aerius* an Heretick for holding the contrary. And this their judgement they delivered as lead

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reunto by divine evidence of Scripture (ἀυτόθεν λόγον) *Adsum*; Gods word teacheth it, *apertis Scripturæ testimoniis*, It appeareth by plain testimonies of Scripture, *discimus ex hoc loco*, From this place we learn, and the like) which testimonies should they be encountered (as his Majesty doth not yet believe they can be) with a cloud of witnesses to the contrary, for number, and in every other respect equall thereunto; yet should not the authority of their evidence in reason be much lessned thereby: inasmuch as one witnes for the Affirmative ought to be of more value than ten for the Negative; and the testimony of one person that is not interessed, than of an hundred that are.

And whereas you seem in this question to decline this kinde of tryall, because matter of right is properly triable by Scripture; his Majesty conceiveth this present question, in what terms soever proposed, to be yet, in the true stating of it, & in the last resolution, clearly a question of fact, and not of right; For what right soever the Bishops have or pretend to have, must be derived from the fact of *Christ* or his *Apostles*. Which matter of fact if it be not in the most plain *historical manner* that may be related in the Scriptures, but is to be deduced thence by topical remote inferences, and probability of conjectures, the most rationall & proper expedient for the finding out of the right, is to have recourse to the Iudgement, but especially to the practice of the nearest and subsequent times; according to the received Maxims, *Lex currit cum Praxi, & Consuetudo optima interpres Legum*. Now he that shall find by all the *Records* extant, that the *distinction of Bishops* from, or the *superiority over Presbyters* was so universally and speedily spread over the face of the *whole World*, and their *government* submitted unto so *unanimously* by the *Presbyters*, that there never was any *considerable opposition* made there-against before *Aerius* (and that cried

down as an *Heresie*) nor since till this last Age: & shall duly consider withall, that if *Episcopall government* had not an indubitable *institution* from the *authority* of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, or if any *other form of Church-government* could have pretended to such *institution*, had bin the most impossible thing in the world, when there neither was any *outward certaine power to inforce it*, nor could be any *General Counsel to establish it*, to have introduced such a form of Government so suddenly and quietly, into all *Christian Churches*, and not the spirit of any one *Presbyter* for ought that appeareth for above three hundred yeares, to have been provoked either through zeal, ambition, or other motive, to stand up in the just defence of their owne and the Churches liberty against such an *usurpation*. His Majesty believeth that whosoever shall consider the *premisses*, together with the Scripture evidences that are brought for that *Government*, will see reason enough to conclude the same to have something of divine institution in it, notwithstanding all the evasions and objections that the subtill wit of man can devise to perswade the contrary. And therefore his Majesty thinketh it fit, plainely to tell you, that such Conjecturall interpretations of Scripture as he hath yet met with in this Argument, how handsomely soever set off, are not Engines of strength enough to remove him from that judgment wherein he hath been setled from his Childhood, and findeth so consonant to the judgment of Antiquity, and to the constant practice of the Christian Church for so many hundred years; which in a matter of this nature ought to weigh more than meer conjecturall inferences from Scripture Texts that are not so attested. Which having now once told you his Majesty thinketh himselfe discharged from the necessity of making so large and particular an Answer to every allegation

ion in the ſequell of your reply, as hitherto he hath

6. *Reply*, Sect. 9. As to the Apoſtles Miſſion and ceſſion, To make his anſwer the ſhorter to ſo long diſcourſe, his Majeſty declareth, that his meaning is not by diſtinguiſhing the Miſsion and Unction the Apoſtles, ſo to confine them, as if they ſhould relate preciſely and excluſively, the one to the office, the other to the abilities, but that they did more ecially and eminently ſo relate: For the Apoſtles er their laſt miſsion, (*Matth*:28. 19, 20.) where- they were further warranted to their Office, and orke, were yet to wait for that promiſed annointing (*Luke* 24. 49. *Acts* 1. 4.) the ſpeciall effect where- was the enduing them with Guifts of the Holy hoſt, for the better and more effectuall performing hat their work and Office, nor was it his Majeſties eaning to reſtraine the extraordinaries in the Apo- licall Office to thoſe guifts only, (For his Majeſty erwards in the ſame paper mentioneth other extra- inaries alſo, as before is ſaid) but only to inſtance thoſe guifts, as one ſort of extraordinaries, where- the Apoſtles were to have no ſucceſſors. But Majeſties full meaning was, that the whole Apo- licall Office (ſetting aſide all and only what was onall and extraordinary in them) conſiſted in worke of teaching and governing, which being of neceſſary and perpetuall uſe in the Church to worlds end, the Office therefore was alſo to con- , and conſequently the perſons of the Apoſtles mortall, to be tranſmitted and derived to others ceſſion: And that the Ordinary Succeſſors of Apoſtles immediately, and into the whole Office, of Teaching and Governing, are properly the ops, the Presbyters ſucceeding them alſo, but in , and into the Office of Teaching only, and that

mediately and subordinately to the Bishops, by whom they are to be ordained, & authorized thereunto, which his Majesty taketh not to be, as you call it, a dissolving of the Apostolicall Office.

Now the ground of what his Majesty hath said concerning the manner of Succession to the Apostles, that it may appear not to have been said *gratis*, is this. The things which the Scriptures record to have been done by Christ, or his Apostles, or by others at their appointment, are of three sorts, some acts of power merely extraordinary; others acts of an ordinary power, but of necessary and perpetuall use, othersome lastly, and those not a few, Occasionall and Prudentiall, fitted to the present condition of the Church in severall times: To the Apostles in matters of the first sort none pretends succession; nor are either the Examples of what the Apostles themselves did, or the directions that they gave to others what they should doe in matters of the third sort, to be drawn into consequence so far as to be made necessary Rules, binding all succeeding Church-officers in all Times to perpetuall observation. So that there remain the things of the middle sort onely, which we may call Substantials, into which the Apostles are to have ordinary and standing Successors. But then the difference will be, by what certain marks, Extraordinaries, Substantials and Prudentials may be known, and distinguished each from other. Evident it is, the Scriptures do not afford any particular discriminating Characters whereby to discern them, the acts of all the three sorts being related in the like narrative forms, and the directions of all the three sorts expressed in the like preceptive forms. Recourse therefore must of necessity be had to those two more generall Criterians [the Laws of all humane actions] Reason and Common Usage. Our own Reason will tell us, that instruct-

ing

the people of God in the Chriſtian Faith, exhor-
them to Piety, and good Works, adminiſtring the
craments, &c. which belong to the Office of teach-
: That ordaining of Miniſters, Inſpection over
ir lives, and Doctrines, and other Adminiſtrations
Eccleſiaſticall affairs belonging to the Office of Go-
rning, are matters of great importance, and neceſſa-
concernment to the Churches in all Ages and Times,
d therefore were to be concredited to ſtanding Of-
cers in a Line of Succeſſion, and accordingly were
dged, and the continuance of them preſerved in the
conſtant uſage of the Churches of Chriſt: But that on
the other ſide the decrees concerning Abſtinence
from Bloud, and ſtrangled, *Acts* the 15. The directi-
ons given for the ordering ſome things in the Church
Aſſemblies, 1 *Cor.* 14. For making proviſions for the
poor, 1 *Cor.* 16.1. For the choice and maintenance of
Widowes, 1 *Tim.* 5. For the enoyling of the ſick, *James*
5.14. and other like, were but occaſionall, prudential,
and temporary, and were ſo eſteemed by the Chur-
ches, and the practice of them accordingly laid aſide.
So for the ſucceſſion into the Apoſtolicall Office, wee
find in the Scriptures evidence clear enough, that the
Apoſtles committed to others, as namely to *Timothy*
and *Titus*, the power both of teaching and governing
the Churches. And common Reaſon and Prudence
dictating to us, that it is good for the edifying of the
Church, that there ſhould be many Teachers within
competent Precinct, but not ſo that there ſhould
many Governours; And the difference of Biſhops
and Presbyters to the purpoſes aforeſaid, having been
by continuall uſage received, and preſerved in the
Chriſtian Church, down from the Apoſtles to the pre-
ſent times; his Majeſty conceiveth the ſucceſſion of
Biſhops to the Apoſtles, into ſo much of their Office
as was ordinary and perpetuall; and ſuch a diſtinction
of Biſhops and Presbyters as his Majeſty hath former-

ly expresſed, needeth no further confirmation fr
Scripture (to ſuch as are willing to make uſe of th
Reaſon alſo, which in interpreting Scripture upon
other occaſions they are enforced to do) nor an
thing by you produced in this Paragraph, any further
anſwer; onely that diſtinction of Eminently and For
mally, becauſe you illuſtrate it by inſtancing in Him
ſelf, his Majeſty could not but take notice of, which
he either underſtandeth not, or thinketh your illu
ſtration thereof not to be very appoſite: For Actions
and Operations flow from the Forms of things, and de
monſtrate the ſame as effects doe their cauſes. The A
poſtles therefore acting in the ordinary exerciſe of
Church Government, did act not Eminently only, but
Formally alſo, as Biſhops rather than Apoſtles.

As concerning Timothy and Titus.

7. *Reply. Sect.* 10. 15. Firſt, whether there were
Evangeliſts or no, his Majeſty never meant to diſpute.
Onely, becauſe you often call for Scripture proofe, his
Majeſty thought fit to admoniſh you, that in your
Anſwer you take two things for granted (*viz.* that *Ti
mothy* and *Titus* were Evangeliſts, and that Evange
liſts were ſuch Officers as you deſcribed) Neither of
which if it ſhould be denyed, you could clearly prove
from Scripture alone, without calling in the help of
other Writers to atteſt it, as in your Reply you have
now done Mr. *Hookers*; Neither have you indeed
brought any thing in this Reply out of Scripture to
prove either of both ſufficient to convince him that
were of a contrary minde.

Secondly, you ſeem (Sect. 12.) to miſtake that
which was the third point in that part of his Majeſties
paper, which was not whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were
Evangeliſts, or no; (concerning which his Majeſty
neither did, nor doth contend) But whether in the
Church

urch government they exerciſed, they acted as ngeliſts (as you affirme) and ſo onely as extraor- ary Officers, or not? *Zuinglius* (having ſaid that name of a Biſhop and Evangeliſt is the ſame thing) oveth it from 2 *Tim.* 4. and concludeth, *Conſtat item iſſe officium utriuſq;*: Biſhop and Evangeliſt the ſame Office both. *Gerrard* ſaith, the word Evangeliſt in that lace is taken generally, and not in the ſpeciall ſenſe; hat is to ſay, for a Miniſter of the Goſpell at large (and the Context there indeed ſeemeth to import no more) and not for an Evangeliſt by peculiar Office. And *Scultetus* not onely affirmeth, That S. *Paul* appointed *Timothy* and *Titus* to *Epheſus* and *Creet*, not as Evangeliſts, but as Church-governours; but ſaith further, That the Epiſtles written to them both doe evince it, and alſo bringeth Reaſons to prove it. Upon what particular reaſons *Gilleſpy*, &c. reject the conceit of their acting as Evangeliſts, his Majeſty certainly knowes not: But if this be one of their Arguments (as to their beſt remembrance from whom his Majeſty had the information, it is) That *if whatſoever is alleged from the Scripture to have been done by the Apoſtles, and by Timothy and Titus, in point of Ordination, Diſcipline and Government, may be eluded by this, that they acted therein as extraordinary Officers, There will be no proof at all from Scripture of any power left in any ordinary Church-Officer to the purpoſes aforeſaid.* His Majeſty then recommendeth to your moſt ſober thoughts to conſider, Firſt, how this conceit of their acting as extraordinary Miniſters onely, tends to the ſubverſion of all Miniſters, as well as of the Biſhops (ſince upon this very ground eſpecially, the *Socinians* deny all Miſſion and Ordination of the Miniſters in the Church.) And ſecondly if the contrary be proved by *Gilleſpy*, &c. by good Arguments, That they acted as ordinary Officers in the Church, then, Whether

they have not thereby laid a better foundation for the claim of Bishops, *viz.* of governing the Church as single persons in ordinary Office) than either they or you are willing to acknowledge.

Thirdly, his Majesty thinketh it a great liberty which you take in rendring the sense of his Reply, as you have done, *viz.* '*The Scriptures never call them Bi-*
'*shops but the Fathers do*: whereas if you had followed his sense in that paper, you might rather have delivered thus, The Scripture describeth them as Bishops, and the Fathers call them so. For that of yours, '*The Scripture calls Timothy an Evangelist, some*
'*of late have refuted it, and rejected it with scorn*: You should have said rather, The Scripture doth not any where affirm of *Titus*, nor clearly prove of *Timothy*, that they were (by peculiar Office) Evangelists; but that in governing the Churches they acted as Evangelists, or extraordinary Officers, is by sundry late Writers (the evasion it selfe having been out of late minted) refuted, and rejected. For that of yours, '*The Scripture relates their*
'*motion from Church to Church, but some affirm them to*
'*be fixed at Ephesus and in Creet*: It should have been, Neither doth their motion from Church to Church hinder, but they might afterwards be fixed at *Ephesus* and in *Creet*: Neither doth their being Bishops at *Ephesus* and *Creet* hinder, but they might afterwards, for propagation of the Gospel, be by the Apostles appointment often imployed other where. For that of yours, '*The Scripture makes distin-*
'*ction of Evangelists and Pastors, but some say that Tim-*
'*thy and Titus were both*: It should have been, The Scripture maketh no such distinction of Evangelists and Pastors, but that the same persons might not only successively be both, but even at the same time also be called by both Names.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Though you say, *You do not undervalue the Testimonies and Catalogues mentioned*, yet you endeavour (which commeth not far short of undervaluing) to lessen the reputation of both but too much, of those Testimonies by putting them off, as if when they report *Timothy* and *Titus* and others to have been Bishops, they speak but vulgarly, or by way of allusion, and not exactly as to the point in debate. But of *Hierom*, upon whom you chiefly relye in this Cause, the contrary is evident, who in this catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers, wherein he was to deliver things *Fide Historica*, and to describe the persons of such as are registred in that catalogue by their proepr and known distinctive Titles and Stiles, he expresly stileth *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Mark*, *Policarp*, and others, Bishops of such and such places; and such on the other-side as were but meer Presbyters, *Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ*, or *Alexandriæ Presbyter*, &c. observing the difference so constantly and exactly throughout the whole book, that nothing can be more clear, than that he understood the word *Episcopus* no otherwise, than in the Ordinary Ecclesiasticall sense, and as a Bishop is distinct from a Presbyter. As for that passage you allege out of him, by custom in the judgment of learned men, he must mean the practice of the Apostolick times; and by *Dominica dispositio*, the expresse precept of Christ, unlesse you would have him contradict what himselfe hath written in sundry other places; Whose Testimonies in the behalfe of Episcopal superiority, are so clear and frequent in his Writings, that (although he of all the Ancients be least suspected to favour that Function over-much) yet the Bishops would not refuse to make him *Arbitrator* in the whole businesse: as for the Catalogues, there will be more convenient place to speak of them afterwards.

Fifthly, your long discourse concerning the severall sta-

stations and removes of *Timothy* and *Titus* (13. 14.) and their being called away from *Ephesus* and *Creet* (15.) His Majesty neither hath time to examine, nor thinketh it much needfull (in respect of what he hath said already) so to do. It is sufficient to make his Majesty at least suspend his assent to your conjectures and inferences: First, that he findeth other learned men, from the like conjectures to have made other inferences; as namely, that *Timothy* and *Titus* having accompanied *Paul* in many journeys, *Postea & tandem*, were by him constituted Bishops of *Ephesus* and *Creet*. Secondly, that supposing they were, after the times of the severall Epistles written to them, sent by the Apostles to other places, or did accompany them in some of their journeys, even for a long time together, it cannot be concluded thence, that they were not then Bishops of those Churches, or that the Government of those Churches was not committed to their peculiar charge: If it be supposed withall (which is most reasonable) that their absence was commanded by the Apostle, and that they left their Churches *cum animo revertendi*. Thirdly, that the places which you presse again of 1 *Tim.* 1 3. and *Titus* 1.5. weigh so little to the purpose intended by you, even in your owne judgements (for you say onely, *They put fair to prove it*) that you cannot expect they should weigh so much in his, as to need any further Answer; save onely, that his Majesty knoweth not what great need or use there should be of leaving *Timothy* at *Ephesus*, or *Titus* in *Creet*, for ordaining Presbyters and Deacons, with such particular directions and admonitions to them for their care therein, if they were not sent thither as Bishops: For either there were Colleges of Presbyters in those places before their comming thither, or there were not; if there were, and that such Colleges had power

to ordain Presbyters and Deacons without a Bi-
ſhop; Then was there little need of ſending *Timothy*
and *Titus* ſo ſolemnly thither about the worke; if
there were none, then had *Timothy* and *Titus* power
of ſole ordination, which is a thing by you very much
diſliked. Thoſe inconveniences his Majeſty think-
eth it will be hard wholly to avoid upon your Prin-
ciples.

That Diſcourſe you conclude with this Obſervati-
on, *That in the ſame very Epiſtle to* Timothy, *out of*
which he is endeavoured to be proved a Biſhiſhop, there is
clear evidence both for Presbyters impoſing hands in Or-
dination, and for their Ruling: Yet his Majeſty preſu-
meth you cannot be ignorant, that the evidence is not
ſo clear in either particular, but that in the former ve-
ry many of the Latine Fathers eſpecially, and ſundry
later Writers, as *Calvin* and others, refer the word
πρεσβυτερίου to the remoter Subſtantive Grace or Gift,
and not to that of Impoſition of hands; and ſo un-
derſtand it as meant of the Office of Presbytery, or
as wee were wont to call it in Engliſh by derivation
from that Greek word of *Prieſthood* in *Timothy* him-
ſelf, and not a College or Company of Presbyters
collectively impoſing hands on him: And that the
Greek Fathers, who take the word collectively, do
yet underſtand by πρεσβυτερίου there, a company of A-
poſtles or Biſhops who laid hands on *Timothy* in his
Ordination to the Office of a Biſhop (as was ordinari-
ly done by three joyning in that Act in the Primitive
and ſucceeding times) and not of a College of meer
Presbyters. And that in the latter particular, to wit,
that of *Ruling*, The place whereon his Majeſty con-
ceiveth your Obſervation to bee grounded hath been
by the Adverſaries of Epiſcopall Government gene-
rally and mainly inſiſted upon, as the onely cleare
proof for the eſtabliſhing of *Ruling-Lay Elders*, which

inte-

interpretation his Majesty knoweth not how far you will admit of.

As to the Angels of the Churches.

8. *Reply.* 16. 17. HIs Majesties purpose of naming these Angels in his first Paper, sufficiently declared in his second, required no more to be granted for the proving of what he intended, but these two things onely: first, that they were *personæ singulares*; and then that they had a superiority in their respective Churches, aswell over Presbyters as others, which two being the *Periphrasis* or definition of a Bishop, his Majesty conceived it would follow of it self, That they were Bishops: That the Epistles directed to them in the respective Reproofs, Precepts, Threatnings, and other the contents thereof, did concerne their fellow Presbyters also, and indeed the whole Churches (which in your last you again remember) his Majesty did then and doth still believe, finding it agreeable both to the tenor of the Epistles themselves, and to the consentient judgement of Interpreters. Onely his Majesty said, and still doth, That that hindreth not, but that the Angels to whom the Epistles were directed, were *personæ singulares* still: This his Majesty illustrated by a Similitude, which though it doe not hold in some other respects, and namely those by you observed (for his Majesty never dreamt of a four-footed Similitude) yet it perfectly illustrates the thing it was then intended for, as is evident enough, so that there needeth no more to be said about it.

That which you insist upon to prove the contrary from *Revel.* 2. 24. *But I say to you* (ὑμῖν plurally) *and to the rest in Thyatira*, is plainly of no force, if those Copies in which the copulative conjunction is wanting, be true; for then the reading would be this, *But I say*

to

to you the rest in Thyatira: But following the ordinary Copies, the difficultie is not great, such manner of Apostraphes by changing the number, or turning the speech to another person, being very usuall both in prophetick Writings, such as this Book of *Revelation* is, and in Epistles of this nature written to one; but with reference to many others therein concerned. *Beza* expoundeth it, ὑμῖν, *to you*, (that is, the Angel as President, and his colleagues the other Presbyters) *and to the rest*, that is, to the whole flock or People; which manner of speaking might be illustrated by the like forms of speech to be used in a Letter written to a Corporation, wherein the Major and Aldermen especially, but yet the whole Town generally were concerned, but directed to the Major alone; or from a Lord, containing some Orders for his own household especially, and generally for the whole Township, but by Inscription directed to his Steward onely, or the like.

The consent of Antient and later Writers was produced by his Majesty for the proofe of the two things before named onely, but especially of the first, *viz.* That the Angels were *personæ singulares*: (For the latter, *viz.* That they were superiour to Presbyters also, had been confessed by your selves in your first grant before) but was not produced to prove the conclusion it self immediately, *viz.* That they were Bishops in distinct sense, although sundry of their Testimonies come up even to that also. But to the first point, That they were single persons, the concurrence is so generall, that his Majesty remembreth not to have heard of any one single Interpreter, before *Brightman*, that ever expounded them otherwise. And yet the same man (as his Majesty is informed) in his whole Commentary upon the *Revelation*, doth scarce, if at all, any where else, save in these Seven Epistles, expound

pound the word *Angel* collectively, but still of one single person or other, insomuch as he maketh one Angel to be *Gregory* the Great, another Queen *Elizabeth*, another *Cranmer*, another *Chemnitius*, and the like: but generally both the Fathers and Protestant Divines agree in this, That the Angel was a single person, some affirming plainly, and that *in terminis*, he was the Bishop; some naming the very persons of some of them, as of *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, and others; some calling him the chief Pastor or Superintendent of that Church; and those that speake least, and were more or lesse disaffected to Bishops, as *Beza*, Doctor *Reynolds*, the *Geneva Notes*, and even *Cartwright* himself, the πρῶτος President or chief among the Presbyters. And this they doe sundry of them, not crudely delivering their Opinions onely, and then no more, but they give Reasons for it, and after examination of the severall Opinions prefer this before the rest, affirming, That *Doctissimi quique interpretes*; all the best learned Interpreters so understand it, and that they cannot understand it otherwise, *Vim nisi facere Textui velint*, unlesse they will offer violence to the Text.

That which his Majesty said concerning the Subdivision of those that had divided themselves from the common judgement of this Church, was meant by his Majesty, as to the Subdivision in respect of this particular of the Angels, wherein they differ one from another, and not as to the division in respect of their dislike of Bishops, wherein they all agree: And truly his Majesty doth not yet see, how either their differences can be possibly reconciled in the former (no accomodation in the World being able to make all the people of the whole Church, nor yet a College consisting of many Presbyters, to bee one single person) or their recesse wholly excused in the latter

ter, their diſſenting from the common and ceived judgement, practiſe of the Chriſtian hurch, in the matter of Epiſcopacy, and the ill conſequents thereof, having in his Maje-ies opinion, brought a greater reproach upon the roteſtant Religion, and given more advantage (or olour at leaſt) to the Romiſh party, to aſperſe the Reformed Churches in ſuch ſort as we ſee they do, han their diſagreement from the Church of *Rome* in ny one controverted point whatſoever beſides hath done.

As to the Apoſtles Succeſſours.

9. 17. 18. *Reply*, HEre little is ſaid, the ſubſtance whereof hath not been anſwered before; His Majeſtie therefore briefly declares his meaning herein, That the Apoſtles were to have no neceſſary Succeſſors in any thing that was extraordinary either in their Miſſion or Vnction; that his Majeſty ſpake not of Succeſſion into abilities otherwiſe than by inſtance, mentioning other particulars withall; which thing he thinketh needeth not to have been now the third time by you mentioned; That in the Apoſtles Miſſion or Commiſſion (for his Majeſty under the name of Miſsion comprehendeth both) and conſequently in the Apoſtolicall Office, as there was ſomething extraordinary, ſo there was ſomething ordinary wherein they were to have Succeſſours; That Biſhops are properly their Succeſſours, in the whole Apoſtolicall Office, ſo far as it was ordinary, and to have Succeſſours; That therefore the Biſhops Office may in regard of that ſucceſsion, be ſaid to be Apoſtolicall; That yet it doth not follow that they muſt needs be called Apoſtles, taking the denomination from the Office, in as much as the denomination of the Apoſtles, peculiarly ſo called, was not given them from the

the Office whereunto they were sent, but (as the word it self rather importeth) from the immediateneſſe of their Miſſion, being ſent immediately by Chriſt himſelfe; in reſpect whereof for diſtinction ſake, and in honour to their perſons, it was thought fitter by thoſe that ſucceeded, in common uſage, to abſtain from that Denomination, and to be ſtiled rather by the name of Biſhops; That if the Apoſtles had no Succeſſours, the Presbyters (who are their Succeſſours in part, immediately and ſubordinately to the Biſhops) will be very hard ſet to prove the warrant of their own Office and Miſſion; which if not derived from the Apoſtles (who onely received power of Miſſion from Chriſt) by a continued line of Succeſſion, his Majeſty ſeeth not upon what other bottom it can ſtand.

As to the ſtanding Officers of the Church.

19,20. To *Reply*, You inſiſted upon two places of Scripture, *Phil.* 1. 1. and 1 *Tim.* 3. to prove that there were to be no more ſtanding Officers in the Church, than the two in thoſe places mentioned, (*viz.*) Presbyters (who are there called Biſhops) and Deacons; whereunto his Majeſties anſwer was, *That there might be other though not mentioned in thoſe places*: which Anſwer, though it were alone ſufficient, yet *ex abundanti*, his Majeſty ſhewed withall, that ſuppoſing your interpretation of the word Biſhop in both the places (*viz.* to denote the Office of Presbyter onely) there might yet be given ſome probable conjectures, which (likewiſe ſuppoſed true) might ſatisfie us, why that of Biſhop in the diſtinct ſenſe, ſhould not not be needful or proper to be named in thoſe places.

His Majeſties former Reaſon, though in *Hypotheſi*, and as applyed to the Church of *Philippi*, it be but conjecturall, yet upon the credit of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories and conſideration of the condition of thoſe times

es, as it is ſet forth in the Scriptures alſo, it will pear in *Theſi*, to be undoubtedly true, (*viz.*) That Apoſtles themſelves firſt planted Churches; that y were perpetuall Governours and chief of all the hurches whileſt they lived; that as the burthen grew eater by the propagation of the Goſpell, they aſſu-ed others in *partem curæ*, committing to their charge e peculiar overſight of the Churches in ſome principall Cities and the Towns and Villages adjacent, as *Iames* at *Ieruſalem*, and others in other places, ſooner or la-er, as they ſaw it expedient for the ſervice of the Church: That the perſons ſo by them appointed, to ſuch peculiar charges, did exerciſe the powers of Or-dination and other Government under the Apoſtles, nd are therefore in the Church-ſtories called Biſhops of thoſe places in a diſtinct ſenſe; That in ſome places where the Apoſtles were themſelves more frequently converſant, they did for ſome while govern the Churches immediately by themſelves, before they ſet Biſhops there; and that after the Apoſtles times, Bi-ſhops only were the ordinary Governours of the Churches of Chriſt: And his Majeſty believeth it can-not be proved either from cleare evidence of Scripture, or credible teſtimonies of Antiquity, that ever any Presbyter or Presbytery exerciſed the pow-r either of Ordination at all without a Biſhop, or of that which they call Eccleſiaſticall Iuriſdiction n ordinary and by their owne ſole Authority, r otherwiſe, than as it was delegated unto them pon occaſion, and for the time by Apoſtles and Bi-hops.

For that place of *Phil.* 1.1. in particular, his Majer-ies purpoſe being, not to interpret the place (a ork fitter for Divines) but to manifeſt the inconſe-uence of the Argument, whereby you would con-lude but two ſtanding Officers only, becauſe but two

there named, gave this as one probable conjecture why there might be no Bishops in distinct senie there mentioned, because possibly the Apostles had not as yet set any Bishops over the Church, which his Majesty did not propose as the only, no, nor yet as the most probable conjecture (for which cause He delivered it so cautiously, saying only it might be probable) but as that which for the present came first into his thoughts, and was sufficient for his purpose, without the least meaning thereby to prejudice other interpretations; as namely, of those Expositors who take the words (with the Bishops and Deacons) as belonging to the persons saluting, and not to be persons saluted; to this sense, *Paul* and *Timotheus* the servants of Iesus Christ, with the Bishops and Deacons, to the Saints at *Philippi*, &c. or of those who affirm, and that with great probability too, That *Epathroditus* was then actually Bishop of *Philippi*, but not to be mentioned in the inscription of the Epistle, because he was not then at *Philippi*, but with St. *Paul* at *Rome* when the Epistle was written: Any of which conjectures, if they be true (as there is none of them utterly improbable) that place of *Phil.* 1. 1. will not do you much service in this Question.

In the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Apostle directeth and admonisheth them as Bishops, particularly concerning Ordination of Ministers, that they do it advisedly, and Ordaine none but such as are meetly qualified for the service of the Church; which directions and admonitions his Majesty believeth for the substance to belong to all of after-times, as well as unto them: But his Majesty seeth no necessity why in those Epistles there should be any particular directions given concerning the Ordination of Bishops, at least unlesse it could be made appear, That they were to Ordain some such in those places, nor perhaps if that could be made

to

to appear, in as much as in thoſe Epiſtles there is not the leaſt ſignification of any difference at all between Preſbyters and Deacons in the manner of their Ordination; both being to be performed by the Biſhop, and by impoſition of hands, and ſo both comprehended under that generall rule (*Lay hands ſuddenly on no man*) but only, and that very little, and ſcarce conſiderable (as to the making of diſtinct Offices) in the qualification of their perſons.

The Ordination therefore of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, being to be performed in the ſame manner, and the ſame qualifications after a ſort, ſaving ſuch differences as the importance of their ſeverall Offices make (which is more in the degree than in the things) being required in both; it had been ſufficient if in thoſe Epiſtles there had been directions given concerning the Ordination and Qualification of but one ſort of Church-Officers only; as in the Epiſtle to *Titus* we ſee there are of Presbyters only, and no mention made of Deacons in the whole Epiſtle: whence it may be as well concluded, that there was to be no other ſtanding Officer in the Church of *Creet*, but Preſbyters only, becauſe St. *Paul* giveth no directions to *Titus* concerning any other, as it can be concluded, that there were to be no other Officers in the Church of *Epheſus*, but Presbyters and Deacons only, becauſe St. *Paul* giveth no directions to *Timothy* concerning any other.

As to the Ages ſucceeding the Apoſtles.

11. *Reply*, 13, 27. Concerning the Iudgment of Eccleſiaſticall Writers about the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy, his Majeſty conceiveth the difference to be more in their Expreſſions than in their Meaning, ſome calling it *Divine*, others *Apoſtolicall*, and ſome (but not many) *Eccleſiaſticall*; but that the ſuperiority of Biſhops

above Presbyters began in the Apostles times, and had its foundation in the Institution either of Christ himself or of his Apostles, his Majesty hath not heard (*Aerius* excepted) that any till these latter Ages have denied.

For that which you touch upon concerning the word *Infallible*, his Majesty supposeth you knew his meaning, and he delighteth not to contend about words.

As for the *Catalogues* some uncertainties in a few (a frailty which all humane Histories are subject to) his Majesty taketh to be insufficient to discredit all differences there are in Historiographers, in reciting the succession of the *Babylonian*, *Persian*, and *Macedonian* Kings, and of the *Saxon* Kings in *England*: And wee find far more inextricable intricacies in the *Fasti Consulares*, the Catalogues of the *Roman* Consuls (notwithstanding the great care in keeping the publick Records, and the exactnesse of the *Roman* Histories) than are to be found in Episcopall Catalogues, those especially of the chiefest Cities, as *Iernsalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, *Ephesus*, &c. yet as all men believe there were Kings in those Countries, and Consuls in *Rome* in those times, so (as you might well foresee would be answered) the discrediting of the Catalogues of Bishops, in respect of some uncertainties (although his Majesty doubteth not but many of the differences you instance in, may be fairely reconciled) tendeth rather to the confirming of the thing it selfe.

That which you say in answer hereunto, That the Ecclesiasticall Writers called them Bishops, in complyance to the Language of their owne times, after the names of Presbyters and Bishops were distinguished, but that they were not indeed Bishops in the proper sense now in question; his Majesty who believeth the di-

ſtinction of thoſe names to have begun preſently af-
r the Apoſtles times (if not rather whilſt ſome of
em were living) doth conſequently believe, that as they
ere called ſo, they were indeed Biſhops in that proper
enſe. It appeareth by *Ignatius* his Epiſtles every where,
ow wide the difference was in his time between a Bi-
op and a meer Presbyter: If *Hierom* only, and ſome a
ittle Ancienter than he, had applyed the name Biſhop to
erſons that lived ſome ages before them, there might
ave been the more colour to have attributed it to ſuch a
omplyance as you ſpeak of, but that they received both
he name and the truth of their Relations from un-
queſtionable Teſtimonies and Records, his Majeſty
hinketh it may be made good by many inſtances: for example, to inſtance in one only, *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, who is thought to be the Angell of that Church in the *Revelation*; *Ignatius*, who was contemporary with him, wrote one Epiſtle to him, and ſends ſalutation to him in another as Biſhop of *Smyrna*; Many years after *Irenæus* Biſhop of *Lyons* in *France*, (whoſe writings were never yet called in queſtion by any) not onely affirms him to have been conſtituted Biſhop of *Smyrna* by the Apoſtles, but ſaith, *That he himſelf when he was a Boy had ſeen him an old Man*; *Tertullian* next, a very ancient writer affirmeth, *That he was Biſhop of Smyrna, there Placed by S. Iohn.* After commeth *Euſebius*, who in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, not only hiſtorically reporteth of his being Biſhop there, as he doth of other Biſhops, but citeth alſo for it the Teſtimonies both of *Ignatius* and *Irenæus* (which by the way giveth good credit to *Ignatius* his Epiſtles too.) Then *Hierom* alſo and others laſtly atteſt the ſame. And it cannot be doubted, but *Euſebius* and *Hierom* had in their times the like certaine Teſtimonies and Grounds for ſundry others, whom they report to have been Biſhops; which

Testimonies and Records are not all come to o[ur] hands.

For the Testimonies of *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, his Majesty saith; First, that though it be not Reasonable that the Testimony of one single Epistle should be to made the adequate measure of *Clemens* his Opinion, as to exclude all other proofs from his Example, or otherwise, yet his Majesty, since *Clemens* was first named by you, and the weight of the maine Cause lieth not much upon it, is content also for that matter to refer himself to that Epistle. Secondly, That his Majesty could not but use some earnestnesse of expression in the cause of *Ignatius* against some who have rejected the whole Volume of his Epistles, but upon such Arguments as have more lessned the reputation of their own learning, than the Authority of those Epistles in the opinion of moderate and judicious men: And yet *Blendellus*, a very learned man, though he rejected those Epistles, confesseth notwithstanding the Ancient Fathers gave full credence thereunto.

The Apostles, you say, *did not ordain themselves Bishops of any particular places; and yet the Bishops of some particulars place are reported in the Catalogues to have been successors to such or such of the Apostles, and even the Names of such Apostles are entred into the Catalogues*: To this his Majesty saith, that the Apostles were formally Bishops by vertue of their Mission from Christ, as hath been already declared, but did neither ordaine themselves, nor could be ordained by others, Bishops of such or such particular Cities: Although his Majesty knoweth not, but that they might, without prejudice to their Apostleship, and by mutuall consent, make choice of their Severall quarters wherein to exercise that function, as well as Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* by consent went the one to the Circumci-

sion

…, the other to the Gentiles: But ſuch apportion-…ents did not entitle them to be properly called Biſhops …f thoſe places, unleſſe any of them by ſuch Agree-…ent did fixedly reſide in ſome City; of which there …not in the hiſtory of the Church any clear unqueſtio-…able example: If that JAMES the Lords Bro-…ther (who was certainly Biſhop of JERVSALEM) were not one of the twelve Apoſtles, as the more generall opinion is that he was not, yet did the Churches of ſucceeding times, for the greater ho-nour of their Sees, and the memory of ſo great Be-nefactors, enter in the head of the Liſts or Catalogues of their Biſhops, the Names of ſuch Apoſtles as had either firſt planted the Faith, or placed Biſhops, or made any long abode and continuance, or ended their dayes among them: yet doth not the true Title of being Succeſſors to the Apoſtles thereby ac-crew to the Biſhops of thoſe places, more than to other Biſhops, but all Biſhops are equally Succeſ-ſors to the Apoſtles in two other reſpects; The one, for that they derive their Ordination by a continuall line of Succeſſion from the Apoſtles: The other, for that they ſucceed into the ſame Apoſto-licall power and function, which the Apoſtles as ordi-nary Paſtors had.

Your motion to reduce this whole diſpute to Scripture alone, were the more reaſonable, if the matter in queſtion were properly a poynt of Faith: And yet even in poynts of Faith (as the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Canon of Scripture, and ſundry other) the uniform judgment of the Church hath been ever held of very conſiderable regard; but being a matter of Fact, as before was ſaid, which the Scrip-tures do not deliver entirely and perſpicuouſly in a-ny one place together, but obſcurely, and by parts, ſo that the underſtanding thereof dependeth meerly

upon conjecturall interpretations, and uncertain probabilities, nor assure any certain distinguishing Character whereby to discerne what therein is extraordinary, what prudentiall, and what of necessary and perpetual Obligation, there seemeth to his Majesty to be a necessity of admitting the subsequent judgment and practice of the Christian Churches into the Tryall.

As to the three Questions proposed by his Majesty.

12. 29, &c. *Reply*, His Majesty resteth very much unsatisfied, that you have now againe wholly declined the answering of those three Questions so clearly proposed by him, which your selves also confesse to be of great importance, upon this only pretence, *That the whole volume of Ecclesiasticall Policy is contained in them*: Whereas his Majesty did neither expect nor require from you any large or Polemicall Discourse concerning those Questions; but yet did conceive you were (in order to his satisfaction and your own undertaking) in some sort obliged to have declared in few words what your Judgment was therein, with the grounds thereof, that so his Majesty might have taken the same into his further consideration, than which nothing could have more conduced to the informing of his judgment, and the satisfaction of his Conscience; which his Majesty also further conceives you might have done, with the tenth part of that pains you have hitherto bestowed to other purpose, and therein have given full as much satisfaction to his desires, as he expected, and in all likelyhood better satisfaction to his judgment than he yet findeth or can hope to find from you, so long as you hold off from declaring your opinions concerning those Questions: For certainly, untill one of these three things can be clearly evidenced unto his

Majesty (*viz.*) Either that there is no certaine form of Church Government at all prescribed in the Word, or if there be, that the Civill power may change the same as they see cause; or if it be unchangeable, that it was not Episcopall, but some other, his Majesty thinks himselfe excusable in the judgment of all reasonable men, if he cannot as yet be induced to give his consent to the utter abolishing of that Government in the Church, which he found here setled to his hands, which hath continued all over the Christian World, from the times of the Apostles, untill this last age, and in this Realm ever since the first plantation of Christianity, as well since the Reformation as before, which hath been confirmed by so many Acts of Parliament, approved as consonant to the Holy Word of God, in the Articles of our Religion, and by all the Ministers of the Church of ENGLAND, as well by their Personall subscriptions, as otherwise, so attested and declared, and which himselfe in his judgment and Conscience, hath for these many yeares been, and yet is perswaded to be at least of Apostolicall Institution and practice: Truly his Majesty cannot but wonder what should be the reason of your great shiftnesse and unwillingnesse to discover your minds in a matter of so great and necessary consequence: and for finall conclusion of this whole dispute (which his Majesty thinketh fit to shut up with this Paper) he must plainly tell you, that your endeavours to have given him satisfaction in the questions proposed, would have added much in his opinion to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking; it being not probable you should worke much upon his judgment, whilst you are fearfull to declare your own, nor possible to relieve his Conscience, but by a free declaring of yours.

Nevertheless, his Majesty liketh well of your pray-

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er in the close of your Paper, and thinketh you shou
do very well to joyn therewith your utmost possibl
endeavors towards the setling of Truth, and a happy
Peace in this unsetled Church and Kingdom.

His MAJESTIES Quære concerning *EASTER*, propounded to the Parliaments Commissioners at *Holmby*, April 23. 1647.

I desire to be resolved of this Question, *Why the new Reformers discharge the keeping of Easter?*

The Reason for this *Quære* is,

I Conceive the Celebration of this Feast was instituted by the same authority, which changed the Iewish Sabbath into the Lords Day or Sunday; for it will not be found in Scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday; wherefore it must be the Churches authority that changed the one, and instituted the other; Therefore My opinion is, that those who will not keep this Feast, may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday: when any body can shew Me that herein I am in an errour, I shall not be ashamed to confesse and amend it. Till when you know My minde.

C. R.

Diverse

Diverſe of His MAJESTIES Prayers: Whereof the three laſt, uſed by Him in the time of His Reſtraint, were delivered to the Biſhop of *London* at His Death, from whom they were taken away by the Officers of the Army.

1. *A Prayer uſed by his Majeſty, at his entrance in State into the Cathedral Church of* Exceter, *after he had defeated the Earle of* Eſſex *his Forces in* Cornwall.

O Moſt glorious Lord God, Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt, I here humbly adore Thy moſt Sacred Majeſty; and I bleſſe and magnifie thy Name, for that thou haſt been pleaſed ſo often, and ſo ſtrangely to deliver Me from the ſtrivings of My people. Father forgive them who have thus riſen up againſt Me, and do thou yet turn their hearts both unto Thee and to Me; that I being firmly eſtabliſhed in the Throne Thou haſt placed Me on, I may defend Thy Church committed to My care, and keep all this Thine and My people in Truth and Peace, through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord, Amen.

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2. *A Prayer drawn by His Majeſties ſpeciall Direction and Dictate, for a bleſſing on the Treaty at* Vxbridge.

O Moſt mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people ſorely afflicted by the ſcourge of an unnatutall War, do here earneſtly beſeech Thee, to command a bleſſing from Heaven upon this preſent Treaty,

Treaty, begun for the establishment of a happy peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ himselfe hath shed his. Or if the guilt of our great sins cause this Treaty to break off in vaine, Lord let the Truth clearly appear, who those men are, which under pretence of the publick good, do pursue their own private ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see, at least in this their Day, the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God, for his sake who is our peace it self, even Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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3. *A Prayer drawne by His Majesties speciall directions, for a blessing on the Treaty at* Newport *in the Isle of* Wight.

O Most mercifull Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, we a people sorely afflicted by the scourge of an unnaturall War, do here earnestly beseech thee to command a blessing from Heaven upon this Treaty, brought about by thy providence, and the only visible remedy left for the establishment of an happy Peace. Soften the most obdurate hearts, with a true Christian desire of saving those mens blood, for whom Christ him self hath shed his. O Lord let not the guilt of our sins cause this Treaty to break off, but let the truth of thy Spirit so clearly shine in our mindes, that all private ends laid aside, we may every one of us heartily and sincerely pursue the publick good, and that thy people may be no longer so blindly miserable as not to see at least in this their day the things that belong unto their peace. Grant this gracious God for his sake who is our peace it self, even Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

4. *A Prayer for Pardon of sins.*

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, look down upon Me Thy unworthy servant, who here prostrate My Self at the Foot-stool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Me, O Father, through the Mediation, and in the Merits of Iesus Christ, in whom Thou art onely well-pleased; for, of My self I am not worthy to stand before thee, or to speak with My unclean lips to Thee, most holy and eternall God! For as in sin I was conceived and born, so likewise I have broken all thy Commandments by My sinfull motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works, omitting many Duties I ought to do, and committing many Vices which Thou hast forbidden, under pain of thy heavy displeasure: As for My sins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I stand here liable to all the miseries in this life, and everlasting torments in that to come, if thou shouldst deal with Me according to My deserts. I confesse, O Lord that it is Thy mercy (which endureth for ever) and Thy compassion (which never fails) which is the cause that I have not bin long ago consumed: But with Thee there is mercy and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of Thy Mercies, and by the Merits of Iesus Christ, I intreat Thy Divine Majesty, that thou wouldst not enter into judgement with Thy Servant, nor be extrem to mark what is done amisse, but be Thou mercifull unto Me, and wash away all My sins with that precious blood that My Saviour shed for Me. And I beseech Thee, O Lord, not only to wash away all My sins, but also to purge My heart by thy holy Spirit, from the dross of My Naturall corruption. And as thou doest adde days to My life; so good Lord, I beseech Thee, to adde repentance to My dayes, that when I have past this

this mortall life, I may be partaker of thy everlasting Kingdome, through the merits of Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer and Confession in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmighty and most mercifull Father, as it is onely Thy goodnesse that admits of Our imperfect prayers, and the knowledge that Thy Mercies are infinite, which can give Vs any hope of Thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary Duty to confesse our sins freely unto Thee; and, of all men living I have most need, most reason so to do, no Man having bin so much obliged by Thee, no Man more grievously offending Thee: That degree of knowledge which Thou hast given Me, adding likewise to the guilt of My transgressions. For was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a fals pretended way of Iustice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of Thy Worship to be set up in *Scotland*, and injured the Bishops in *England?* O no; but with shame and grief I confesse, that I therein followed the perswasions of worldy wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conscience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies: for I know My repentance weak, and My prayers faulty! Grant therefore, mercifull Father, so to strengthen My repentance, and amend My prayers, that thou mayest clear the way for Thine owne Mercies; to which, O let Thy Iustice at last give place, putting a speedy end to my deserved afflictions. In the mean time give Me patience to endure, Constancy against Temptations, and a discerning spirit to chuse what is best for Thy Church and people,

ople, which Thou hast committed to my charge. rant this, O most mercifull Father, for Thy Son Je- us Christs sake our onely Saviour, Amen.

A Prayer in time of imminent Danger.

O Most mercifull Father, though My sins are so many and grievous, that I may rather expect the effects of Thy anger, than so great a deliverance, as to free Me from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to relieve all those who with humble and unfeigned repentance come to Thee for succour, it were to multiply, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenly favour: wherefore I humbly desire thy Divine Majesty, that thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Me out of the hands, and protect Me from the malice of My cruel enemies. But if thy wrath against My hainous offences, will not otherways be satisfied, than by suffering Me to fall under My present afflictions, thy wil be done; yet, with humble importunity I do and shall never leave to implore the assistance of thy heavenly Spirit, that My cause, as I am thy Vicegerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of my Mind, that with clearnesse I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloody Triall; that so my sufferings here may not only glorifie Thee, but likewise be a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O mercifull Father, for his sake who suffered for Me, even Iesus Christ the Righteous. Amen.

Severall things relating to His MAJESTIES Death.

1. *Foure Quaries propounded by His MAJESTY, when the Armies Remonstrance was read unto Him, at* Newport, *concerning the intended tryall of His Majesty.*

1. WHether this Remonstrance be agreeable to the former Declarations of the Army? and if not, whether the Parliament would make good their Votes, that after he had consented to what they desired he should be in a capacity of Honour, Freedom, and Safety?

2. Whether His acknowledgement of the guilt of the blood that hath been spilt in the late Wars (nothing being as yet absolutely concluded or binding) could be urged so far, as to be made use of by way of evidence against him, or any of his Party?

3. Whether the Arguments that he hath used in a free and personall Treaty, to lessen or extenuate, and avoid the exactnesse of any of the Conditions, though in manner and form onely, might be charged against him as an act of Obstinacy or wilfull persistance in what is alleged against him, in that he goes on in a destructive course of enmity against the people, and the Laws of the Land, when he hath declared, that his Conscience was not satisfied, concerning divers particulars in the Propositions?

4. Whereas by the Letter of the Law all persons charged to offend against the law, ought to be tryed by their Peers or equals, what the Law is if the person questioned is without a Peer, and if the Law which of it self

but a dead Letter) ſeems to condemn him, by what power ſhall judgement be given, and who ſhall give it? or from whence ſhall the adminiſtrators of ſuch judgement derive their power, which may (by the ſame Law) be deemed the ſupreme power or authority of Magiſtracy in the Kingdom?

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2. *His Majeſties Reaſons againſt the pretended Juriſdiction of the High Court of Injuſtice, which he intended to have delivered in writing on Monday*, Jan. 22. 1648. *but was not permitted.*

HAving already made My proteſtations not onely againſt the illegality of this pretended Court, but alſo that no Earthly power can juſtly call Me (who am your KING) in queſtion as a Delinquent; I would not any more open My mouth upon this occaſion, more than to refer My ſelf to what I have ſpoken, were I alone in this caſe alone concerned. But the duty I ow to God in the preſervation of the true liberty of My people, will not ſuffer Me at this time to be ſilent: For, how can any free-borne Subject of *England* call Life, or any thing he poſſeſſeth, his own, if Power without Right daily make new, and abrogate the old fundamentall Law of the Land? which I now take to be the preſent caſe. Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have ſatisfied Me concerning theſe grounds which hinder Mee to anſwer to your pretended Impeachment; but ſince I ſee that nothing I can ſay will move you to it (though Negatives are not ſo naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will ſhew you the Reaſon why I am confident you cannot judge Me, nor indeed the meaneſt Man in *England*; for, I will not (like you) without ſhewing a reaſon, ſeek to impoſe a belief upon My Subjects.

* There is no proceeding just against any Man, but what is warranted either by Gods Laws, or the municipall Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now I am most confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by Gods Law, for on the contrary, the authority of obedience unto Kings is clearly waranted and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament; which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove: and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, That *where the Word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Eccles.* 8. 4. Then for the Laws of this Land, I am no lesse confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm, that an impeachment can lye against the King, they all going in His Name; and one of their Maximes is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides, the Law upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old, or new: if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the fundamentall Laws of the Land hath made it, and when. But how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the World to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords-House to any that have heard speak of the Lawes of *England.*

* Here about I was stopt, & not suffered to speake any more concerning Reasons.

And admitting, but not granting, that the people of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Ploughman, if you demand not his free consent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commis-

without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seeke; so far are you from having it. Thus you see that I speak not for My own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all My Subjects, which consists not in sharing the power of Government, but in living under such Lawes, and such a Government, as may give themselves the best assurance of their lives, and propriety of their goods. Nor in this must or doe I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this dayes proceeding doth not onely violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith that (I believe) ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses; for all the pretended crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *NEWPORT*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprized, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner; upon which I account I am against My will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but by My power defend the Ancient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with My own just right; when for any thing I can see the higher House is totally excluded; And for the House of Commons, it is too well known that the major part of them are deterred or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for Me to protest against the lawfulnesse of your pretended Court. Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in My thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Powreigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years; (nor

will I say, what will fall out in case this lawlesse unj
proceeding against Me do goe on) and believe it, t
Commons of *England* will not thank you for th
change, for they will remember how happy th
have been of late years under the Reign of Q. *Eliza*
beth, the King My Father, and My Self, untill the be-
ginning of these unhappy Troubles, and will have
cause to doubt that they shall never be so happy un-
der any new. And by this time it will be to sensibly
evident, that the Arms I took up were onely to defend
the fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom, against thos
who have supposed My power hath totally changed
the ancient Government.

Thus having shewed you briefly the Reasons, why
I cannot submit to your pretended Authority with-
out violating the Trust which I have from God, for
the welfare and liberty of My People; I expect from
you either clear Reasons to convince My judgement
shewing Me that I am in an Errour (and then truly
will readily answer) or that you will withdraw you
proceedings.

This I intended to speak in Westminster-Hall *on*
Monday, 22 January; *but against Reason was*
hindred.

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3. The Names of those persons, who by a pretended
Commission, from a few of the late House of Com
mons (acted therein by the Councell of War) were
appointed to judge their *Liege Lord* and *Soveraign*
the King.

Serjeant *John Bradshaw*, President.
Tho. Lord *Fairfax*, Gen.
L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwell*.
Com. Gen. *Ireton*.
Major General *Skippon*.

Sr. *Hardresse Waller.*
Col. *Valentine Walton.*
Col. *Thomas Harrison.*
Col. *Edward Whally.*
Col. *Thomas Pride.*
Col. *Isaac Ewer.*
Col. *Richard Ingolsby.*
Sr. *Henry Mildmay.*
Sr. *Tho. Honywood.*
Thomas Lord *Gray.*
Philip Lord *Lisle.*
William Lord *Munson.*
Sr. *John Danvers.*
Sr. *Tho. Maleverer.*
Sr. *John Bowcher.*
Sr. *James Harrington.*
Sr. *Wil. Brereton.*
Rob. Wallop Esq;
Wil. Henningham Esq.
Isaac Pennington Alder.
Tho. Atkins Ald.
Col. *Rouland Wilson.*
Sr. *Peter Wentworth.*
Col. *Henry Martin.*
Col. *Wil. Purefoy.*
Col. *Godphrey Bosvill.*
John Trencherd Esq.
Col. *Hacbottle Morley.*
Col. *John Berkestead.*
Col. *Mat. Tomlinson.*
John Blackestone Esq;
Gilbert Millington Esq;
Sr. *Wil. Constable.*
Col. *Edw. Ludlow.*
Col. *John Lambert.*
Col. *John Hutchinson.*
Sr. *Arthur Hazlerige.*
Sir *Michael Levisley.*
Richard Saloway Esq;
Col. *Rob. Tickburn.*
Col. *Owen Roe.*
Col. *Rob. Manwering.*
Col. *Rob. Lilborne.*
Col. *Adrian Scroope.*
Col. *Richard Dean.*
Col. *John Okey.*
Col. *Robert Overton.*
Col. *John Harrison.*
Col. *John Desborough.*
Col. *William Goffe.*
Col. *Robert Duckenfield.*
Cornelius Holland Esq;
John Carn Esq;
Sr. *William Armine.*
John Jones Esq;
Miles Corbet Esq;
Francis Allen Esq;
Thomas Lister Esq;
Ben. Weston Esq;
Peregrine Pelham Esq;
John Gourdon Esq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorpe.*
John Nut Esq,
Tho. Challenour Esq;
Col. *Alg. Sidney.*
John Anlaby Esq;
Col. *John Moor.*
Rich. Darley Esq;
Wil. Say Esq;
John Aldred Esq;
John Flagge Esq;
James Nelthorp Esq;

Sr. *Wil. Roberts.*
Col. *Francis Lassels.*
Col. *Alex. Kirby.*
Henry Smith Esq;
Edmond Wild Esq;
James Chaloner Esq;
Josias Barnes Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphrey Edwards Esq;
Gregory Clement Esq;
John Fray Esq;
Thomas Wogan Esq;
Sr. *Gregory Norton.*
Col. *Edm. Harvey.*
John Dove Esq;
Col. *John Venne.*
John Foulkes Alderman.
Tho. Scot Ald.
Tho. Andrews Ald.
Wil. Cawley Esq;
Abraham Burrell Esq;
Col. *Anthony Stapley.*
Roger Gratwick Esq;
John Downes Esq;
Col. *Tho. Horton.*
Col. *Tho. Hammond.*
Col. *George Fenwick.*
Serjeant *Robert Nichols.*
Rob. Reynolds Esq;
John Liste Esq;
Nicholas Love Esq;
Vincent Potter.
Sr. *Gilbert Pickering.*
John Weaver Esq;
Roger Hill Esq;
John Lenthall Esq;
Sr. *Edward Baynton.*
John Corbet Esq;
Tho. Blunt Esq;
Tho. Boone Esq;
Aug. Garland Esq;
Aug. Skinner Esq;
John Dickswell Esq;
Col. *George Fleetwood.*
Simon Maine Esq;
Col. *James Temple.*
Col. *Peter Temple.*
Daniel Blagrave Esq;
Sr. *Peter Temple.*
Col *Tho. Waite.*
John Brown Esq;
John Lowry Esq;

In all 300.

The Names of those persons who presumed at severall times actually to sit as Iudges upon their Soveraign Lord, whereof about 73 did passe sentence of Death upon Him, with the Names of the Councell and Officers that attended them.

Serjeant *Iohn Bradshaw*, President.
L. Gen. *Oliver Cromwel.*
Com. Gen. *Ireton.*
Major. Gen. *Skippon.*
Sr. *Hardresse Waller.*
Col. *Tho. Harrison.*
Col. *Edw. Vvhalley.*
Col. *Tho. Pride.*
Col. *Isaac Ewer.*
Col. *Rich. Ingolsby.*
Sr. *Henry Mildmay.*
Thomas Lord *Grey.*
Philip Lord *Lisle.*
Wil. Lord *Munson.*
Sr. *Iohn Danvers.*
Sr. *Tho. Maleverer.*
Sr. *Iohn Bowcher.*
Sr. *James Harrington.*
Sr *Wil. Brereton.*
Wil. Henningham Esq;
Isaac Pennington Alder.
Tho. Atkins Alder.
Rouland Wilson Ald.
Sir *Peter Wentworth.*
Col. *Henry Martin.*
Col. *Wil. Purefoy*,
Col. *Godfrey Bosvil.*
Col. *Iohn Berkestead.*
Sr. *Vvil. Constable.*
Col. *Edw Ludlow.*
Col. *Iohn Hutchinson.*
Col. *Rob. Titchburne.*
Col. *Owen Roe.*
Col. *Adrian Scroop.*
Col. *Iohn Okey.*
Col. *Iohn Harrison.*
Col. *Iohn Desborough.*
Cornelius Holland Esq;
Miles Corbet Esq;
Francis Allen Esq;
Peregrine Pellham Esq;
John Gourdon Esq;
Serjeant *Francis Thorp.*
Tho. Challoner Esq;
Col. *Iohn Moor.*
Iohn Alured Esq;
Col. *Francis Lassells.*
Henry Smith Esq;
Iames Chaloner Esq;
Dennis Bond Esq;
Humphrey Edwards Esq;
Gregory Clement Esq;
Iohn Fry Esq;
Tho. Vvogan Esq;
Sir *Gregory Norton.*
Col. *Edmond Harvey.*
Iohn Dove Esq;

Col. *John Ven.*
John Foulkes Alderman.
Tho. Scot Ald.
Tho. Andrews Ald.
William Cawly Esq;
Anthony Stanley.
John Lisle Esq;
John Corbet Esq;
Thomas Blunt Esq;
Tho. Boone Esq;
Col. *George Fleetwood.*
Col. *James Temple.*
Col. *James Waite.*
John Brown Esq;
Wil. Say Esq;
Col. *Mat. Tomlinson.*
John Blackeston.
Gilbert Millington.
Abraham Barrell.
Col. *John Downes.*
Mr. *Norton.*
L. Gen. *Tho. Hammond.*
Nicholas Love.
Augustine Garland.
Sir *Miles Levesey.*
John Dexwel.
Simon Mayre.
Daniel Blagrave.
Col. *Robert Lilburne.*
Col. *Rich. Deane.*
Col. *Hewsen.*
L. Col. *Wil. Goffe.*
Mr. *Carew.*
Io. Iones.
92. In all.

Counsellours assistants todraw up the Charge against the King.

Dr. *Isaac Dorislaus*, Mr. *Ask*, Mr. *Cook*, and Mr. *Steele*, (who by reason of sickness was absent.)

Serjeant *Danby*, Serjeant at Arms, Mr. *Phelps* Clerk.

Messengers and Door-keepers.

Mr *Walford*, Mr. *Radly*. Mr. *Paine*, Mr. *Howel*, Mr. *Hull*. And Mr *King* Cryer.

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5. *A true Relation of the King's Speech to the Lady* Elizabeth *and the Duke of* Gloceſter *the day before His Death.*

HIs Children being come to meet him, He first gave His bleſſing to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and bade her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever ſhe

she should see him, That it was his Fathers last desire, that he should no more look upon *Charls* as his eldest Brother onely, but be obedient unto him as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her, Sweet-heart you'l forget this: No, (said she) I shall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears promised him to write dowu the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Gleucester* upon His knee, said, Sweetheart, Now they will cut off thy Fathers Head (upon which words the Childe looked very stedfastly on Him) Mark Childe what I say, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, You must not be a King, so long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *Iames*, do live; For they will cut off your Brothers Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the last; and therefore I charge you doe not be made a King by them. At which the Childe sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first: which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *owne Hand.*

WHat the King said to Me the 29 of *Ian.* 1648. being the last time I had the happinesse to see Him, He told Me, He was glad I was come, and although He had not time to say much, yet somewhat He had to say to Me, which He had not to another, or leave in writing; because He feared their cruelty was such, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to me. He wished me not to grieve and torment

ment My ſelf for Him, for that would be a glorious death that He ſhould dye; it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. He bid Me read Biſhop *Andrew's* Sermons, *Hooker's Eccleſiaſticall Polity*, and Biſhop *Laud's* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground me againſt Popery. He told me, He had forgiven all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded us, and all the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, to forgive them. He bid me tell my Mother, that His thoughts had never ſtrayed from Her, and that His love ſhould be the ſame to the laſt. Withall He commanded me and My Brother, to be obedient to her: And bid me ſend His bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with commendation to all His Friends. So after he had given me His bleſſing, I took my leave.

Further, He commanded us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had beene moſt falſe to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and He feared alſo, to their own Souls: and deſired me not to grieve for Him, for He ſhould dye a Martyr, and that He doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son, and that wee ſhould be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if He had lived: with many other things, which at preſent I cannot remember.

Elizabeth.

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7. *Another Relation from the Lady* Elizabeth.

THe King ſaid to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, that He would ſay nothing to Him, but what was for the good of his Soul: He told him, That He heard the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not

not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his ſoule, for he had two Brothers before him, and therfore commanded him upon His bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſſe it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to feare the Lord, and he would provide for him.

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8. *A Copy of a Letter from the* PRINCE *to the* KING, *dated from the* HAGUE *Ianuary* 23. 1648.

SIR,

HAving no means to come to the knowledge of Your Majeſties preſent condition, but ſuch as I receive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertaine) Report, I have ſent this Bearer *Seamour* to wait upon Your Majeſty, and to bring Me an account of it: that I may withall aſſure your Majeſty, I doe not onely pray for Your Majeſty according to My Duty; but ſhall allwayes be ready to do all which ſhall be in My power, to deſerve that bleſſing which I now humbly beg of Your Majeſty, upon

SIR,

Your Majeſties moſt humble and moſt obedient Son and Servant.

Hague, *Ian.* 23. 1648.

CHARLS.

The Superſcription was thus, *For the King.*

His MAJESTIES laſt Speech on the Scaffold at His Martyrdom, *Jan.* 30. 1648.

Becauſe we have no other Relation of what His Majeſty then ſpake, ſave what His Enemies have ſet forth, nor had his Majeſty any Copy (being ſurprized, and haſtned by thoſe that thirſted after His blood,) ſave onely a few Heads in a little Scrip of Paper, which the Souldiers took from the Biſhop of *London*, to whom He gave it: therefore the Reader muſt be content with this Copy which they have publiſhed (ſome few words being altered to make the ſence perfect, which either wilfully, or by miſtake of the Writer or Printer were perverted.)

The King being come upon the Scaffold, and looking about him upon the people, who were kept off by Troops of Horſe, ſo that they could not come near to hear him, omitted what he had purpoſed to have ſpoken to them (as tis thought) and turning himſelf to the Souldiers and Officers (the Inſtruments of the Regicide) ſpake to them to this effect.

I Shall be very little heard of any body elſe, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word unto you here: Indeed I could have held My peace very well, if I did not think that holding My peace, would make ſome men think that I did ſubmit to the guilt, as well as to the puniſhment: But I think it is My duty to God firſt, and then to My Countrey, to cleare My ſelfe both as an honeſt man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian.

I shall begin first with My innocency, and in troth, I think it not very needfull for Me to insist long upon this, for all the World knows that I never did begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witnesse, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I never did intend to incroach upon their Privileges, they began upon Me, it is the *Militia* they began upon; they confest that the *Militia* was Mine, but they thought fit for to have it from Me; and to be short, if any body will look to the dates of Commissions, of their Commissions & Mine, and likewise to the Declarations, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, not I; so that as for the guilt of these Enormous crimes that are laid against Me, I hope that God will clear Me of it: I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this guilt; but I believe that ill Instruments betweene them and Me, have been the chief cause of all this bloodshed; so that, as I finde My selfe clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too: yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say that Gods judgements are just upon Me: Many times he does pay Iustice by an unjust sentence, that is ordinary: I wil onely say this, That an unjust * sentence (*E. of Strafford,*) that I suffered for to take effect, is punished now, by an unjust Sentence upon Me; so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man.

Now for to shew you that I am a good Christian; I hope there is (*Pointing to* D. *Juxon* B. *of London*) a good man that will bear Me witnesse, that I have forgiven all the Word; and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of My Death; who they are, God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them.

But

But this is not all, My charity must goe farther, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular; I pray God with S. *Stephen*, *That this be not laid to their charge*; and withall, that they may take the right way to the peace of the Kingdom, for My charity commands Me not onely to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom: So (Sirs) I do wish with all My Soul, (I see there is some here will carry it further) (*Turning to some that wrote*) that they may endeavor the peace of the Kingdom.

Now (Sirs) I must shew you both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way; first you are out of the way; for certainly all the way you ever have had yet, as far as I could finde by any thing, is in the way of Conquest; certainly this is an ill way, for Conquest in My opinion is never just, except there be a good and a just Cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if you goe beyond the first quarrel that you have, that makes it unjust at the end that was just at first: For if there be onely matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery; as a Pyrat said to *Alexander*, that he was the great Robber, himselfe was but a petty Robber; and so, Sirs, I do thinke for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way.

Now Sirs, for to put you in the way, believe it you will never go right, nor God will never prosper you, untill you give God his due, the King his due (that is, My Successour) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you.

You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church (according to the Scripture) which is now out of order, and to set you in a way particularly now I cannot, but onely this, A National Synod freely

freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every Opinion is freely and clearly heard.

For the King, indeed I will not, the Lawes of the Land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore because it concerns My own particular, I onely give you a touch of it.

For the People. Truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom, as much as any body whomsoever; but I must tell you, That their Liberty and their Freedom, consists in having Government under those Laws, by which their Lives and their Goods may be most their own. It is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them. A Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things; and therefore, untill you do that, I mean, That you doe put the people into that Liberty as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

Sirs it was for this, that now I am hither come: for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed acording to the power of the Sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore, I tell you, (and I pray GOD it bee not laid to your charge) That I am the Martyr of the People.

Introth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer; I will onely say this to you, That I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have put this that I have said, in a little better order, and have had it a little better digested, then I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuse Me.

I have delivered My Conscience, I pray God, that you doe take those courses that are best for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salvations.

Bishop of *London*. Will your Majesty (though it be very well known what your Majesties affections are

are to Religion, yet becauſe it may be expected, that You ſhould ſay ſomewhat) declare your ſelf for the Worlds ſatisfaction in that point.

King. I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that I had almoſt forgotten it. Introth Sirs, My Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Chriſtian according to the profeſſion of the Church of *England*, as I found it left to Me by My Father; and this honeſt man (* *pointing to the Biſhop,*) I think will witneſſe it. Then turning to the Officers He ſaid, Sirs excuſe Me for this ſame. I have a good Cauſe, and I have gracious God; I will ſay no more.

Biſhop of *London.* There is but one Stage more. This Stage is turbulent and troubleſome; it is a ſhort one: But you may conſider it will ſoon carry You from Earth to Heaven; and there You ſhall finde a great deal of Cordial Joy, and Comfort.

King. I goe from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no diſturbance can be, no diſturbance in the World.

The Biſhop. You are exchanged from a temporal to an external Crown; a goood exchange.

Then the King, after ſome ſhort and fervent ejaculations in private, with hands and eyes lift up to Heaven; immediately ſtooping down, laid His neck upon the block: And then the Wretch appointed to give the fatall blow, putting His hair under His Cap, the King ſaid, ſtay for the ſigne.

And after a very little pauſe, ſtretching forth His hands, The Villain at one blow, ſevered His Head from His Body.

Sic cecidit Carolus, *ſic univerſa ſimul*
Britannia.

Lam.

Lam. 4.20. *The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the Heathen.*

Chap. 5. 15, 16, 17. *The joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned into mourning.*

The Crown is fallen from our Head, wo unto us that we have sinned.

For this our heart is faint, for these things our eyes are dim.

The Names of the Pretended Mayor and Aldermen of *London* that personally proclamed the Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government.

Ald. *Andrews* Mayor,	Alderman *Bateman*,
Alder. *Pennington*,	Alderman *Atkins*,
Alderman *Foulks*.	Alderman *Venne*,
Alderman *Kenrick*,	Alderman *Avery*,
Alderman *Byde*,	Alderman *Wilson*,
Alderman *Edmonds*,	Alderman *Dethick*,
Alderman *Pack*,	Alderman *Foot*.

Proclamed *May* 30. 1649.

A Speech made in Latine, by Dr. *Lotius*, to King CHARLS the Second, in the name of the Consistory of *Hague*, and in the presence of the rest of the Ministers of that Church, upon the death of King CHARLS the First, 7. *Calend. Martii*, 1649.

SERENISSIME REX.

VIsum est Deo, summo rerum Arbitro ac Moderatori, grave vulnus infligere SERENISSIMÆ

FAMILIÆ TVÆ MAIESTATIS, cujus & nos ſenſu tacti, adſumus, ut ſi quod Magnus Paracletus conſolationis ſuggeſſerit Verbum, MAJESTATIS TVÆ in ſinum expromamus.

Magna nobis pars ſolatii, & cum eo Patientiæ perit ſæpiùs, cum nimium intenti inſtrumentis & cauſis ſecundis, verberantem Dei manum non, ut oportet, conſideramus. Nos ii non ſumus, SERENISSIME REX, qui eos velimus excuſatos, quorum Horrendum Facinus tam alti doloris cauſa eſt, abſit, abſit. Teſtamur enim coram Deo noſtro, cui in Spiritu ſervimus, nos illud *inauditum paricidium*, illam *execrandam laniem* Sacroſancti & Uncti Capitis & æternum deplorandam *unici* reformatæ Profeſſionis Regis mactationem ex animo *deteſtari*. Quippe ni; cùm *Sacrilegum* hoc *Scelus* directè impugnet Deum *per quem Reges regnant*, ejus verbum in Scriptura comprehenſum, ubi quæ CÆSARIS ſunt, CÆSARI danda voluit; qui Regum Rex eſt; imò injuriam faciat ſummam Rationi, Humanitati, & communi ſubjectorum Societati, & oſtendat quid ſit eſſe INDEPENDENTEM.

Quod volumus SERENISSIME REX, hoc eſt, adoranda eſſe, & probanda illa in Deo Iudicia, quæ ut ingrata à nobis ſunt & occulta ſæpè, ſemper tamen juſta. Quibus annumeranda præcipuè veniunt ea, quando per impios Deus probos exercet, vultque ut ſui gemant ſub preſſura *Alienigenarum* (*ANGLOS enim eos non agniſcimus qui in Legitimum REGEM ANGLIÆ inſurgunt*) quod tamen, quòd ſolenne ſit, non eſt quòd è Scripturis utriuſque Teſtamenti probemus, cùm gravis hujus TUÆ MAIESTATIS SERENISSIMÆ FAMILIÆ afflictio abundè teſtimonio ſit & documento. Ubi nihil nobis Chriſtianis reliqui quam cum Regio vate ingeminare, *Tacui Domine quia tu feciſti*, reſpicere ad caſtigantem Dei Dextram; Animam poſſidere in patientia; forti Ultori Cauſam ſuam com-

commendare, & Patrocinium; quinimò, pro inimicis intercedere apud Deum: sic prævit *Regia & jam in & cum CHRISTO suo* fœlix *Anima* SERENISSIMI TUÆ MAIESTATIS PARENTIS, ad exemplum Salvatoris & Protomartyris *Stephani*: ut reversi ad Dominum Deum serio pœnitentiam agant, apúdque eum culpam confessi & deprecati, & ad Dominum suum redeant & quoque ad officium, & debitam obedientiam; quod nos fore maximum ad veram Consolationem compendium existimamus. Quæ quidem consolatio tum demum vim exercebit suam, cum voluntas nostra, se supremæ voluntati subjecerit, atque actu ipso probaverit, nos non frustrà, aut minus attentè, toties apud Deum exclamasse, Fiat voluntas tua.

Commendamus insuper TUÆ MAIESTATI curam ac defensioonem Religionis Reformatæ, cujus in Anglia Palladium in Synodi Nationalis Canonibus constare, *qui inter Beatos jam triumphat, in Articulo* MORTIS REX PIENTISSIMVS declaravit; quod *nos certè non abnuimus*: quam Religionem ut sartam tectam habere velit TUAM MAIESTATEM obnixè obsecramus. Quod superest, veneramur, venerabimúrque summum illud Numen, ut TUAM MAIESTATEM Spiritu suo in Cœlis induat; salutaribus Consiliis, & Consiliariis instruat; patientiam illi largiatur: Sceptrum confirmet; totámque adeo SERENISSIMAM FAMILIAM *in integrum* restituat, & interim consoletur: Faxit hoc Pater Misericordiarum & omnis Consolationis in Christo per Spiritum Sanctum. *Amen.*

12. The same done into English.

Most gracious King,

IT hath pleased God, the Supreme Iudge and Moderator of all things, to give a sore wound to Your MAJESTIES *most Renowned Family*: With the sense whereof we likewise being deeply touched, are here present, that if the great *Comforter* shall minister any word of consolation, we may pour it forth into your MAJESTIES bosome.

A main portion of comfort, and (with that) of patience is oft-times lost unto us; when, being too intent upon instrumentall and second Causes, we do not consider (as behoves) the wounding hand of GOD. Wee are none of those (*most Gracious* KING) who would any way excuse them, whose *Horrible Villany* is the cause of so deep a sorrow. *God forbid! God forbid.*

For we publish and declare in the presence of our GOD, whom we serve in spirit, that we do detest from our souls, that *never til now heard of Paricide*, that *execrable Butchery* of the SACRED AND ANOINTED HEAD, and that eternally to be lamented *Murther* of the ONLY KING of the Reformed Religon. And why not? When as this *cursed* and *Sacrilegious wickednesse* does directly fight against God, *By whom Kings Reigne*; against his Word revealed in Scripture, where He, who is King of King, wils and commands us, *to give unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars.* Yea, and which does the highest affront that can be, to *Reason, Humanity*, and the common *society of Subjects*: And (in a word) shews what it is to be an *Independent.*

Most Renowned King, our desire is, That the judgements of God be adored and approved of; which, however they may be *irksome* unto us, and oft-times

secret

ſecret, yet they are alwayes *juſt*. Among which, theſe are eſpecially to be numbred, *viz.* when God tryeth and exerciſeth the *Righteous* by the *wicked*, and is pleaſed that his *own* ſhould groan under the preſſure of *Strangers* (*'For we do not acknowledge them to be 'ENGLISH-MEN, who do riſe up againſt the lawfull 'KING OF ENGLAND.*) Which yet, that it is frequent and uſuall, there is no need wee ſhould fetch proofs for it out of the holy Writ of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*; When as the heavy affliction which is now upon your MAJESTIES *moſt Renowned Family*, is an abundant teſtimony and document. Where there is nothing left for us Chriſtians, but to cry out and ingeminate it with the Kingly Prophet, *Lord, I opened not my mouth, for thou didſt it*; to look up to the chaſtiſing right hand of God; to *poſſeſſe the ſoul in patience*; to commend his own *Cauſe* and the defence thereof to the *Mighty Avenger*; Yea, and moreover to intercede with GOD for our *Enemies*, as the *Royal Soul of your* MAJESTIES *moſt Royall Father*, who is *now happy in, and with his Chriſt*, has led the way, after the *Example of our Saviour*, and the Protomartyr S. *Stephen*: That they turning to the LORD our GOD may ſeriouſly repent, and confeſſing this their great wickedneſſe unto him, and beſeeching pardon for the ſame, may likwiſe return to their Liege-LORD, as alſo to their Loyalty and due obedience. Which thing we conceive to be the moſt excellent and compendious way to true conſolation. Which conſolation ſhall then at length exerciſe its full vigour, when *our will* ſhall have ſubmited it ſelf to the *Supreme will* of GOD, and have evidenced *actually* and *indeed*, that we have not in vain, or leſſe diligently, ſo often cried aloud unto GOD, *Thy will be done*.

We further commend to Your *Sacred* MAJESTY the defence and patronage of the Reformed Religi-

on; whose very *safe-guard* or *Sanctuary* in *England*, He (that *Most Religious* KING) *who now triumphs among the blessed* did declare to the World at *the point of death* to rest in *the Canons of a National Synod**. Which truly we can in no wise deny. Which Religion we do earnestly beseech, that Your MAJESTY would preserve safe and entire. * See the Kings Speech upon the Scaffold.

For the rest, we doe, and ever will pray unto the most high God, to endue your MAJESTY with his heavenly Spirit; and to furnish you with saving *Counsels*, and faithful *Counsellours*; to grant you patience, to establish Your Throne, and so to restore Your whole MOST ILLUSTRIOUS FAMILY to their *full Rights*; and in the mean while to comfort them.

The *Father* of mercies, and of all consolation, grant this in *Jesus Christ* by his holy Spirit. *Amen.*

Severall Verses made by divers Persons upon His Majesties Death.

An *Epitaph upon King* CHARLS.

SO falls that Stately *Cedar*, while it stood,
That was the onely Glory of the *Wood*.
Great CHARLS, thou earthly God, Celestial Man,
Whose life, like others, though it were a Span,
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heav'nly Vertues Angels should rehearse,
It is a Theme too high for humane Verse.
He that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon thy rare incomparable Book;
And read it o're and o're; which if he do,
Hee'l finde thee *King*, and *Priest*, and *Prophet* too;

And

And ſadly ſee our loſs; and, though in vaine,
With fruitleſs Wiſhes call Thee back againe.
Nor ſhall Oblivion ſit upon Thy Hearſe,
Though there were neither Monument nor Verſe.
Thy ſuff'rings and Thy *Death* let no man name;
It was thy *Glory* but the Kingdoms *Shame*.

I. H.

Another:

HE that can ſpel a Sigh, or read a Tear,
Pronounce amazement, or Accent wild Fear:
Having all Grief by Heart, He, only He
Is fit to write and read thy Elegy
Unvalued CHARLS: Thou art ſo hard a Text,
Writ in one Age, not underſtood i'th' next.

Another:

WIthin this Sacred *Vault* doth lye
The Quinteſſence of MAJESTY;
Which being Set, more Glorious ſhines;
The beſt of *Kings*, beſt of Divines;
Britans ſhame, and *Britans* glory,
Mirror of Princes, compleat Story
Of *Royalty*, One ſo exact;
That th' *Elixers* of praiſe detract:
Theſe are faint Shadows: But t'endure,
He's drawn to th'Life in's POURTRAICTURE:
If ſuch another *Piece* you'l ſee,
Angels muſt Limn it out, or He;
Where Wiſdom, Grace and Eloquence,
Are Centred in their Eminence.
Marty'd He was to ſave His Laws,
Religion, People, from the Jaws

Of ASSASINES; whoſe weal he ſought;
Even then when they his *Murder* wrought
With horrid Plots, that *headleſſe* He
(And in Him Church and State) might be.
Then ſince Correlatives they were,
Three Kingdoms in one KING *lies here.*

A. B.

Upon the Picture of his Majeſty, ſitting in his Chair before the High Court of Injuſtice.

4

NOt ſo Majeſtick in thy Chair of State!
On that but Men, here God and Angels wait:
Expecting whether hopes of Life, or fear
Of Death can move thee from thy Kingly ſphear
Conſtant and fixt, whom no black ſtorms can ſoyl,
Thy Colours, Head, and Soule, are all in oyl.

Upon the Picture of his Majeſty in His Blew Waſtcoat.

5.

HEre ſhines in a Field *Azure* ſuch a Star,
As at whoſe Fall Kingdoms amazed are.
Fixt by his fall. Chief of the ſparkling train,
'Bove *Ariadnes* Crown, or his own Wayn.
Look! what a ray he darts? So *Moſes* ſhone
While ſtupid *Iſrael* 'fore a Calf was thrown.
Onely the difference make, you muſt account
Him coming from, this going to the Mount.

Upon the Death of King CHARLS the firſt.

6

GReat! Good! and Juſt! could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,

I'de

I'de weep the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once againe.
But since thy loud-tongu'd blood demands supply
More from Briareus *hands than* Argus *eye,*
I'le sing thy Obsequies with Trumpets sounds
And write thy Epitaph with blood and wounds.

MONTROSSE.

Written with the point of his Sword.

7

A Deep Groan at the Funerall of that incomparable and glorious Monarch Charls *the first.*

TO speak our Griefs at full over thy Tombe
(Great Soule) we should be Thunder-struck and (dumbe;
The Triviall Offrings of our bubling eyes
Are but fair Libels at such Obsequies.
When grief bleeds inward, not to sense, tis deep;
W'have lost so much, that 'twere a sin to weep.
The wretched Bankrupt counts not up his summes,
When his inevitable ruine comes:
Our losse is finite when we can compute;
But that strikes speechlesse, which is past recruit.
W' are sunk to sense, and on the ruine gaze,
As on a curled Comets firie blaze,
And Earthquakes fright us when the teeming Earth
Rends ope her bowels for a fatall birth;
As inundations seize our trembling eyes,
Whose rowling billowes over Kingdoms rise.
Alas! our ruines are cast up, and sped
In that black Totall--*Charls* is murdered.
Rebellious Gyant hands have broke that Pole,
On which our Orbe did long in glory roul.
That *Roman Monsters* wish in act we see.
Three Kingdoms necks have felt the Ax in Thee.
The Butchery is such as when by *Cain*,
The fourth division of the World was slain.

The

The mangled Church is on the ſhambles lay'd,
Her Maſſacre is on thy Block diſplay'd,
Thine is the peoples epidemick Tombe,
Thy Sacrifice a num'rous *Hecatombe*.
The Powder-Mine's now fir'd; we were not freed,
But reſpited by Traytors thus to bleed.
November's plots are brew'd and broach'd in worſe,
And *Ianuary* now compleats the Curſe.
Our Lives, Eſtates, Laws, and Religion, all
Lie cruſh'd and gnaſhing in this diſmall fall.
Accurſed day that blotted'ſt out our Light!
May'ſt thou be ever muffled up in Night.
At thy return may ſables hang the ſkie;
And tears, not beams, diſtil from Heavens Eye.
Curs'd be that ſmile that gilds a Face on thee,
The Mother of prodigious Villanie.
Let not a breath be wofted but in moans,
And all our words be but articulate groans.
May all thy *Rubrick* be this diſmall Brand;
Now comes the miſcreant Dooms-day of the Land.
Good-Friday wretchedly tranſcrib'd; and ſuch
As Honour brings alike, though not ſo much;
May Dread ſtill fill thy minutes, and we ſit
Frighted to think what others durſt commit.
A Fact that copies Angels when they fell,
And juſtly might create another Hell.
Above the ſcale of Crimes; Treaſon ſublim'd,
That cannot by a parallel be rim'd.
Ravilliacks was but under-graduate ſin,
And *Gowry* here a Pupil Aſſaſſin.
Infidel wickedneſſe, without the *Pale*;
Yet ſuch as juſtifies the Canniball.
Ryot Apocryphal, of *Legend* breed;
Above the Canon of a Jeſuites Creed.
Spirits of witchcraft; quinteſſentiall guilt;
Hells *Pyramid*; another *Babel* built.

Monſtrous

Monstrous in bulk; above our *Fancies* span;
A *Behemoth*, a crime *Leviathan*.
So desperately damnable, that here
Ev'n *Wild* smels Treason, and will not appear.
That murdering-peece of the new Tyrant-State,
By whom't hath shot black Destinies of late;
He that belch'd forth the Loyall *Burlieghs* doom,
Recoyles at this so dreadfull Martyrdom.
What depth of terrour lies in that offence,
That thus can grinde a seared Conscience?
Hellish Complotment! which a League renew'd,
Lesse with the men, than th'actions of the Jews.
Such was their Bedlam Rabble, and the Cry
Of *Iustice* now, 'mongst them was *Crucifie*:
Pilates Consent is *Bradshaws* Sentence here;
The *Iudgement Hall's* remov'd to *Westminster*.
Hayle to the Reeden Scepter; th' Head, and knee
Act o're again that Cursed Pag'antry.
The Caitiffe crew in solemn pomp guard on
Mock'd Majesty as not to th' Block but Throne:
The Belch agrees of those envenom'd Lyes;
There a Blasphemer, here a Murd'rer dyes.
If that goe first in horrour, this comes next,
A pregnant Comment on that gastly Text.
The Heav'ns ne're saw, but in that Tragick hour,
Slaughter'd so great an *Innocence* and *Power*.
Blood-thirsty Tygers! could no stream suffice
T' allay that Hell within your breasts but this?
Must you needs swill in *Cleopatra's* Cup,
And drink the price of Kingdoms in a sup?
Cisterns of Loyalty have deeply bled
And now y'have damm'd the Royall Fountain Head.
Cruel *Phlebotomy*! at once to drain
The *Median*, and the rich *Basilick* vein:
The tinctures great that popular murther brings,
Tis Scarlet deep, that's dy'd in blood of Kings.

But

But what, could *Israel* finde no other way
To their wish'd *Canaan* than through the Red Sea?
Must God have here his deading fire and Cloud,
And he be th' Guide to this outragious Crowd?
Shall the black *Conclave* counterfeit his hand,
And superscribe their Guilt, *Divine command*?
Doth th'ugly Fiend usurpe a Saint-like grace?
And Holy-water wash the Devils face!
Shall *Dagons* Temple the mock'd Ark inclose?
Can *Esaus* hands agree with *Iacobs* voice?
Must *Molechs* fire now on the Altar burn?
And *Abels* blood to Expiation turn?
Is Righteousnesse so lewd a Baw'd? and can
The Bibles Cover serve the Alcoran?
Thus when Heli's meant, Religion's bid to shine
As *Faux* his Lantern lights him to his mine.
Here, here is sins *non ultra*, when one Lie,
Kils this, and stabs at sacred *Majesty*,
And though his sleepy arm suspend the scourge
Nor doth loud blood in winged Vengeance urge,
Though the soft hours awhile in pleasure flye,
And conquering Treason sing her Lullabie;
The guilt at length in fury hee'l inroul
With barbed arrows on the traitrous soul.
Time may be when that *Iohn-a-Leyden* King.
His Quarters to this Tombe an Off'ring bring,
And that *Be-Munster'a* Rabble may have eyes
To read the price of their dear Butcheries:
Yet if just Providence reprieve the Fate,
The judgement will be deeper though 't be late.
And after-times shall feel the curse enhanc'd,
But how much they've the sin bequeath'd, advanc'd.
Mean time (most blessed shade the Loyall Eye
Shall pay her Tribute to thy memory.

Thy

Thy *Aromatick* Name shall feast our sense,
'Bove balmy *Spiknards* fragrant Redolence,
Whilst on thy loathsome Murderers shall dwell,
A plague-sore, blayn, and rotten Ulcers smell.
Wonder of men and goodnesse! stamp'd to be
The Pride, and flourish of all History.
Thou hast undone the Annals, and engross'd
All th'Heroes glory which the Earth e're lost.
Thy privilege tis onely to commence
Laureate in Sufferings, and in patience.
Thy wrongs were bove all sweetnesse to digest,
And yet thy sweetnesse conquer'd the sharp test:
Both so immense and infinitely vast,
The first could not be reach'd but by the last.
Mean Massacres are but in death begun;
But thou hast liv'd an execution.
Close coffin'd up in a deceased Life;
Had Orphan-Children, and a Widow-Wife.
Friends not t' approach, or comfort, but to mourn
And weep thy un-heard plaints, as at thy urn?
Such black attendants Colonied thy Cell,
But for thy presence *Car'sbrook* had been Hell.
Thus basely to be Dungeond, would enrage
Great *Bajazet* beyond an Iron Cage.
That deep indignity well might have layn
Something the lighter from a *Tamerlain.*
But here *Sidonian* Slaves usurpe the Reins,
And lock the Scepter-bearing arms in chains.
The spew'd-up surfeit of the glut'nous Land:
Honour'd by scorn, and clean beneath all brand.
For such a Varlet-Brood to tear all down,
And make a common Foot-ball of the Crown,
T'insult on wounded Majesty, and broach,
The blood of Honour by their vile reproach,

What

What royall eye but thine could ſober ſee,
Bowing ſo low, yet bearing up ſo high?
What an unbroken ſweetneſſe grac'd thy Soul,
Beyond the world, proud conqueſt, or controul?
Maugre grim cruelty, thou keepſt thy hold;
Thy thorny Crown was ſtill a Crown of Gold.
Chaſte Honour, Might enrag'd could ne're deflour,
Though others th' Uſe, Thou claim'dſt the Right of power.
The brave *Athenian* thus (with lopp'd-off Hands)
A ſtop to ſwelling ſayls by's mouth commands.
New Vigour rouz'd Thee ſtill in thy Embroyls,
Antæus like, recruiting from the Foyles.
Victorious fury could not terrour bring
Enough to quell a captivated King.
So did that *Roman Miracle* withſtand
Hetrurian ſhoals but with a ſingle hand.
The Church in thee had ſtill her Armies; thus
The World once fought with *Athanaſius*.
The Gantlet thus upheld; it is decred,
(No ſafety elſe for Treaſon) *Charls* muſt bleed.
Traytour and Soveraigne now inverted meet;
The wealthy Olives drag'd to th' Brambles feet.
The throne is metamorphoz'd to the Barre,
And deſpicable Bats the Eagle dare.
Aſtoniſhment! yet ſtill we muſt admire
Thy courage growing with thy conflicts high'r.
No palſied hands or trembling knees betray
That Cauſe, on which thy ſoule ſure bottom'd lay.
So free and undiſturbed flew thy Breath,
Not as condemn'd, but purchaſing a Death.
Thoſe early Martyrs in their funeral pile
Embrac'd their Flames with ſuch a quiet ſmile.

What

Brave *Cœur-de-Lyon* Soul that would'st not vail
In one base syllable to beg thy Bayl!
How did'st thou blush to live at such a price,
As ask'd thy people for a sacrifice?
Th' *Athenian Prince* in such a pitch of zeal,
Redeem'd his destin'd Host, and commonweal;
Who brib'd his cheated Enemies to kill,
And both their Conquest, and their Conquerour fell.
Thus thou our Martyr dy'dst: but oh! we stand
A Ransome for another *Charls* his Hand.
One that will write thy Chronicle in Red,
And dip his Pen in what thy Foes have bled.
Shall treas'nous Heads in purple Caldrons drench,
And with such veins the flames of Kingdoms quench.
Then thou art least at *Westminster*, shalt be
Fill'd in the pompous List of Majesty.
Thou *Mausolæum* shall in glory rise,
And tears, and wonder force from Nephews Eyes.
Till when (though black-mouth'd *miscreants* engrave)
No Epitaph, but Tyrant, on thy Grave,
A Vault of Loyalty shall keep thy Name,
An orient, and bright *Olibian* flame.
On which, when times succeeding foot shall tread,
Such Characters as these shal there be read.
Here *Charls* the best of Monarchs, butcher'd lies;
The Glory of all *Martyrologies*.
Bulwak of Law; the Churches Cittadel;
In whom they triumph'd once, with whom they fell:
An English *Solomon*, a *Constantine*;
Pandect of Knowledge, Humane and Divine.
Meeke ev'n to wonder, yet of stoutest Grace,
To sweeten Majesty, but not debase.
So whole made up of clemency, the Throne
And Mercy seat to Him were alwayes one.

Inviting

Inviting Treaſon with a pardoning look,
Inſtead of Gratitude, a ſtab he took.
With paſſion lov'd, that when He murdred lay,
Hea v'n conquered ſeem'd, and Hell to bear the ſway,
A Prince ſo richly good, ſo bleſt a Reign,
The world ne're ſaw but one, nor can again.

——— *Humano generi Natura benigna*
Nil dedit, aut tribuet moderato hoc principe majus,
In quo vera dei, vivéſque eluxit imago:
Hunc quoniam ſcelerata cohors violavit, acerbas
Sacrilego Deus ipſe petet de ſanguine pœnas,
Contemptúmq; ſui Simulachri haud linquet inultum.

Parodia ex Buchanani Geneth: Jacobi ſexti.

D. H. K.

FINIS.